"ESF Funded Training for Unemployed Women: Policy Aims and Implementation."

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CONTENTS.

ABSTRACT.

The European Social Fund (ESF) provides funding for vocational training projects for unemployed women aged over 25. This research traces the development of ESF policies and interpretations from within the European Commission and the British government from 1958 to 1993. The position of women within the European and British labour markets provides the basis of the evaluation of the ESF's aim to increase employability through training linked to the needs of the labour market.

The study is based on a gender, class and race analysis from within a perspective of British socialist feminism. The research follows an inductive, essentially grounded-theory method of research, where each stage is determined by the emergent dominant category of the previous stage. There are three stages: firstly, interviews with the women 'workers' on an ESF funded vocational training project for unemployed women. The non-traditional manual skills training provision was typical of many such projects throughout the 1980s. Secondly, a document based study of policy documents and interpretations. The third stage concentrates on the position of women within the European and British labour markets. The finding is that working-class women are trained for occupations of continual decline, and are not trained for the growth occupations of new technology. Neither are they trained towards improving their hierarchical position.

The discourse of equal opportunities emerges as a central theme throughout the thesis, from the case study onwards. The final analysis of its impact on vocational training policy is that equal opportunities policies, whilst providing access to specific non-traditional manual skills, nevertheless, through the inherent lack of class analysis, actually closes or hinders access to other training and employment opportunities, thereby meeting both the needs of capitalism and of patriarchy.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

ABE	Adult basic education.
CEDEFOP	European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training.
CPVE	Certificate for Pre-Vocational Education.
CTC	City Technology College.
DE	Department of Employment.
DES	Department of Education and Science.
DG V	Directorate General V - Social Affairs.
DG XII	Directorate General XII - Education, Research and Science.
EAGGF	European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund.
EC	European Community.
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community.
EEC	European Economic Community.
EOC	Equal Opportunities Commission.
EPA	Equal Pay Act (1970; Amended 1984).
ERA	Education Reform Act (1988).
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund.
ERM	Exchange Rate Mechanism.
ESF	European Social Fund.
ESFU	European Social Fund Unit (of the Department of Employment).
ET	Employment Training.
ETE	Education-Training-Employment.
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community.
FE	Further Education.
FEU	Further Education Unit.
GNVQ	General National Vocational Qualification.
IOD	Institute of Directors.
IT	Information Technologies.
ITeC	Information and Technology Centre.
LA	Local Authority.
LAPP	Lower Attaining Pupils Programme.

LEA	Local Education Authority.
MS	Member State.
MSC	Manpower Services Commission.
NIACE	National Institute of Adult and Continuing Education.
NOW	New Opportunities for Women.
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification.
SDA	Sex Discrimination Act (1975).
SEM	Single European Market.
TA	Training Agency.
TC	Training Commission.
TEC	Training and Enterprise Council.
TRIST	TVEI-Related in-service training scheme.
TVEI	Technical and Vocational Training Initiative.
UK	United Kingdom.
WITEC	Women in Technology in the European Community.
WNC	Women's National Commission.
WOW	Wider Opportunities for Women.
YT	Youth Training.
YTS	Youth Training Scheme.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION.

This introduction begins by providing the background to the research: that which addresses the "Why did you decide on *this* research ?" question. This is followed by the clarification of particular terms used throughout the study, and by an explanation of the system of appendices used. The final part of the Chapter is an introduction to the structure of the thesis and the foci of each Chapter.

The impetus behind this research project is grounded in the experience of the researcher. Since 1978, my experience as an adult educator has been exclusively with adults considered to be 'disadvantaged', either through their gender, race, class, physical disability, poverty or low educational attainment. For four years I worked as the County co-ordinator for a training scheme for unemployed women funded by the European Social Fund (ESF). This particular scheme was part of a national project. The project aimed to train unemployed women in the skills necessary for setting-up and running a worker co-operative - that is, a business owned and controlled by the people working in it.

The realization of the general educational need of many trainees, and their need for training leading to employment, caused me to wonder if this training project was unique in its inability to create employment through setting-up co-operatives, or whether it was indicative of many such ESF projects for women. This experience

and the questioning it provoked, determined the actual focus of the research project.

My particular interest was, from the start, in the particular combination of 'disadvantage' encompassed in the working-class women targeted for such training: black and white, aged mainly between 30 and 45, poorly educated, and economically impoverished. The training opportunity offered; the prospects of employment; the childcare, travel expenses, company and support offered; were often eagerly seized upon by unemployed women: there being very little other training or educational opportunity which was so well supported and which similarly required no financial outlay from them whatsoever.

The overlap between education and vocational training particularly interested me. Whilst none of the women could be described as illiterate, several did struggle with reading and writing, and many considered themselves innumerate and did in fact require a great deal of help in this area. It seemed as though vocational training provided an acceptable framework for women who did not want to go to ABE classes to acquire basic educational skills. To go to a specific basic education class necessarily demands that the student acknowledge their need, whereas this level of vocational training gave many women 'acceptable' access to such provision. This teaching experience with 'disadvantaged' students builds on my own working-class and educational background, and from this solid base originates the decision not only to locate the study within a feminist framework, but also to pursue a consistent class and race analysis within it.

The reason the specific training scheme was chosen for the case study was that it was typical of one of the two main types of ESF training being offered to unemployed British women during the 1980s: it trained women in 'non-traditional manual skills'. The second main area was that of enterprise job-creation, especially worker co-operatives. The research focus on the 'manual skills training'

placed a distance between myself and the research, enabling a clearer identification of the processes and structures involved.

There are two terms used throughout the thesis which require clarification. These are 'non-traditional manual skills' and 'new technology'. 'Non-traditional manual skills' is used repeatedly throughout the study to refer to a particular range of skills. The manual skills are those which are non-traditional to women, but traditional to men. The use of the word 'traditional' implies these particular skills have been gendered this way for a long time. 'Non-traditional manual skills' is generally, and throughout this study, taken to refer to the skills and trades related to the construction and building renovation industry, for example, plumbing, painting and decorating, carpentry and joinery and bricklaying.

The second term, 'new technology' has two interlocking meanings. The first refers to specific industries and occupations. These industries include computer hardware, telecommunications, information technology, biotechnology and computer software. The specific occupations of new technology include for instance, electronic engineers, software engineers, electrical engineers, computer analysts and programmers, electronic and electrical technicians, data processing operators, and computer operators. However, and importantly for this study, the second meaning of 'new technology' is its reference to the impact of computerised technology on almost every other occupation and industry, and in numerous instances on domestic and leisure daily life. 'New technology' in this study, unless otherwise qualified, refers to this double-linked broad use of the term.

Each stage of the research project has produced data to which it is necessary to refer. This data is included in the appendices to the thesis. There are three appendices: the first holds the 'Notes'. These are discussions of concepts which are referred to and used to develop the argument of the main text but which are too lengthy to

include as a footnote and which would distract too much from the main argument if included in the main text. The second contains the Figures referred to in the labour market sections of the thesis. The third and final Appendix holds the many Tables upon which the developing analysis of the ESF and the position of women in the labour market is based. If included in the main text, they would effectively render it unreadable. However, their contribution is included in the text and can be understood from within that context. Clear reference is made to the specific Table which can, if required, be easily located in the Appendix. There are in some instances, attached to the appended Table an accompanying detailed analysis, from which the conclusions, or simply the main points, are included in the main text. There is no selective process involved regarding the Tables, whereby some are appended and some included in the main text. In this thesis all the Tables are located in Appendix 3.

The structure of the thesis is as follows: Chapter 2, entitled 'Themes and context' is divided into three sections: the European Community; the labour market; and vocational training. Within each section the intention is to provide a broad overview of the general field, the relevant concepts and the main literature relating to it. This is followed in each section by the specific literature and concepts relating to a gender, class and race analysis of the area. The concept of 'equal opportunities' emerges as relevant to each section, forming the main linkage between the three sections.

Chapter 3, 'Methodology', provides the theoretical underpinning of this research. The choice of feminist methodology is considered in depth, including a comparison of differing feminism's theoretical positions with those of non-feminist schools of thought, for example liberal-feminism with liberal egalitarianism; Marxist-feminism with Marxism; socialist-feminism with British socialism; and the current feminist fracturing and critique of knowledge with similar trends within postmodernist thought in general, and with Foucault in

particular. Epistemology is considered both in this light and in relation to differing feminist perspectives.

The focus here is on the tension between differing perspectives of feminist thought. This is subsequently mirrored in those findings from the case study relating to the subjectivities of women, the differences between women and identifiable commonalities. In order to maintain the flow of the main research an analysis of these fractures within the case study project is appended under Appendix 1, Note 33.

At the same time there is another tension running throughout the entire thesis. This is between the essentially postmodernist recognition of these differences existing between women, and the apparently conflicting engagement with theories relating to capitalism and patriarchy. The development of such theories requires the use of the encapsulating term 'woman' to enable consideration of the extent to which the processes and structures of capitalism and patriarchy affect women as women, and increasingly within this, the extent to which they affect different women differently because of other subjectivities.[1]

There are three stages to this research: stages two and three growing from, and determined by, the previous one. This is essentially one of the defining features of 'grounded theory'. It determines not only the questions to be asked but also the most appropriate method of research with which to ask them.

The first stage of this research is that of the case study which is detailed in Chapter 4. The original research question was:

> "What were the workers' perceptions of the intentions and results of the training scheme, for themselves, the funders, and the trainees ?"

This case study raised questions which determined the second stage, namely, the library-based search of European Community policy documents and publications - Chapter 5. The question is:

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[1] This particular tension is discussed further on p98/101.

> "Why did the ESF prioritise this sort of training to these women, and why not something else ?"

This question, in line with the research process described by Glaser and Strauss (1967), is subsequently expressed as a tentative hypothesis. There are two such hypotheses developed during the course of the research. They are not a structure or a tool for a deductive or positivist approach to the research, but are generated from the questions which arise as a result of the analysis of the preceding data, and they express the direction of the next stage of the research. This first hypothesis is:

> The funders' explicitly stated aim that the intention of the training was to increase employment, was of secondary importance to their primary, and less-explicit, aim of constructing a *visible* equal opportunities policy.

The library based search of ESF and UK policy documents pointed strongly towards the importance of the discourse of equal opportunities within the ESF training process. The analysis of this Chapter generated the second hypothesis:

> The funders' exclusive gender-based interpretation of their equal opportunities policies promotes training directed more towards access to 'male' occupations, and less towards the needs of, and therefore employability within, the labour market.

In order to ascertain the relevance of the ESF policy to the needs of the labour market it was necessary to consider the occupational and industrial trends within the European and British labour markets and the position of women - especially working-class women, within it. The question asked in Chapter 6 was:

> "How do these policy intentions and interpretations actually relate to the needs and trends of the labour market ?"

The discourse of equal opportunities emerges as an important concept, having a strong determining effect on the ESF vocational training policy for women, and consequently on their chances of employment within the labour market, their financial independence

and viability, and therefore their economic dependence on men. Equal opportunities is one of the main focuses of the concluding Chapter 7. The other focus returns to the actual educational process developed by the 'workers' through the training project.

The recommendations are, as will be seen, necessarily pragmatic, and refer to strategies for improving the European Social Fund vocational policy for working-class women. The conclusions drawn remain, essentially, yet further questions. Further research, either through replication in other Member States, or through research focused on European documents and bureaucratic processes not in the public domain could, possibly, address certain relevant specific questions. However, the questions of Chapter 7 are also indicators: indicators of particular processes and structures which, intentionally or not, operate against the best wishes of the unemployed women who are nevertheless ostensibly targeted as the intended beneficiaries.

The focus of the research on the ESF vocational training policies affecting unemployed working-class women builds on and joins together several distinct fields of work. The connection within schools and school-work transition schemes between new vocationalism, equal opportunities and class is extended, within this study, into the area of vocational training for working-class women. The work on the role of the British government and its agencies within vocational education and training is located within a European framework. Finally, there is the development of the central connection between the discourse of equal opportunities, vocational training policies for working-class women and the needs of and opportunities within the class, race and gender segmented labour market.

CHAPTER 2

THEMES AND CONTEXT.

Introduction.

There are two major strands of study upon which this research builds: firstly the gender and class segmentation of the labour market; secondly, a gender and class analysis of vocational training. The context is that of the European Community. The major relevant themes in these areas will be presented in this chapter. The analysis, throughout this study is based on feminist perspectives, as detailed in Chapter 3.

This Chapter is in three sections: firstly the European Community; secondly, the labour market - with a subsection on women in the labour market; thirdly, vocational training. The Chapter does not aim to give an exhaustive review of the literature surrounding each section for each in itself would require a separate chapter. It is, however, selective in its focus in order to provide an understanding of the fields of literature in which the study is grounded. Notes, Figures and Tables referred to in this Chapter can be found in the relevant Appendix: Notes, Appendix 1; Figures, Appendix 2; and Tables, Appendix 3.

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

This section is primarily descriptive but a knowledge of the development of the European Community and its direct relationship to the economy is crucial, for it provides the necessary context in which to locate the specific research concern with the European Social Fund (ESF) and the subsequent analysis of the thesis.

The Eurostat publication *Europe in Figures* (EC 1992a), provides a concise guide to the European Community decision making structures from which the following summary is taken. The Commission is the Executive body of the European Community (EC), and is currently made up of 17 Commissioners (two women, 15 men) sent on behalf of each Member State, with Jacques Delors as President of the Commission. Sir Leon Brittan is a UK Commissioner. Its main role is that of 'guardian of the Treaties' for which it has the power of enforcement. It also initiates Community policy, proposes legislation, and draws up the Budget. The main decision-making body of the EC is the Council of Ministers. These are representatives of the Member State governments: dependent on the agenda, these will be Ministers for Foreign Affairs, or Ministers for Agriculture, of Finance, and so on. The European Parliament, with 518 members, with few powers other than those based on 'request' is, to date, essentially a debating chamber. (Figure 1 depicts the EC decision-making process.)

The signing of Treaties and the agreeing of Regulations and Directives, legally binds each Member State to compliance, enactment and enforcement: if necessary passing national legislation to enable it to do so. Examples of this are the Equal Pay Act (EPA) and the Sex Discrimination Act (SDA). (see Preston 1991; EC 1992a) One of the legal forms most referred to in this study is the 'Directive' which, although legally

> "binding on Member States as to the result to be achieved within a stated period ... leave the method of implementation to national governments." (Preston 1991 p32)

'Decisions' are more specific but are also legally binding to the addressee. 'Recommendations' and 'Opinions' give the relevant institution's point-of-view, but have no legal force behind them.

The literature of the European Commission itself, forms the main basis of this section. In addition to the Commission's official documents (prefaced COM), other European Community documents such as *Social Europe*, and *Women of Europe* are used. The Commission's proposals for legislation, policy objectives and information regarding particular funding programmes for instance, are issued as 'COM' documents. COM proposals are published in the 'C' series of the *Official Journal*, and legal agreements in the 'L' series. There are, as yet, few secondary publications relevant to this study. Preston (1991) provides a concise and informative overview of the development of the European Community, its structures and general policy features. She gives general information on the administrative structure, the Funds available and the procedures for accessing them.[1] Early secondary works were primarily descriptive, and although of historical importance, the information provided is quickly out of date due to constant changes in the Membership of the Community, the legal frameworks agreed, and subsequent interpretations by the Community itself, individual Member States and their government departments. The latest examples are the ongoing discussions around the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) and the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty.

Community Law, that is the primary legislation of Treaties and the secondary legislation of Regulations and Directives, are the only publications with legal force, and which therefore can be regarded as 'official' statements of the Commission. This is important because many of the sources referred to in this study are themselves 'interpretive': interpreted by Directorates and subsections of the European Community itself, but nevertheless they are 'interpretive' and carry no legal force. Such documents actually carry a

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[1] Further background information is provided through the works of Hoskyns 1985, 1986; Mazey 1988; Meehan 1992; Jarvis 1992; Morris et al 1991; Lovenduski 1986; Pillinger 1992.

'disclaimer' stating that the enclosed views are not necessarily those of the Commission. The interpretation of legal Directives and funding guidelines is the focus of Chapter 5.

The Economic foundation of the EC.

The EC Eurostat publication: *Europe in figures* (EC 1992a), traces the roots of the European Community back to the Marshall Plan for the rebuilding of Europe (1947). Over the next decade numerous Treaties were signed between differing combinations of European countries. The Council of Europe, created in 1949, has been significant for 'human rights', with currently 26 member counties including Hungary and Czechoslovakia from the 'eastern block'. In 1951 the Treaty of Paris was signed, establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). The significant date in the history of the European Community is the 25 March 1957: the signing of the Treaty of Rome. This Treaty established the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). In 1967 the EEC, Euratom, and the ECSC were merged. The growth in membership of the EC was as follows:

1957 Euro-6: Belgium, Netherlands, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and Luxembourg sign the Treaty of Rome.
1973 Euro-9: Denmark, Ireland and the UK join.
1981 Euro-10: Greece joins.
1986 Euro-12: Portugal and Spain join.

In 1986 the third important Treaty was signed: that of the Single European Act, amending and supplementing the Treaty of Rome. Unification of Germany in 1990 immediately increased the EC population, its labour force, and its market potential. There are two other remaining significant dates. The first is the 1st January 1993 when the Single European Market and the European Economic Area came into effect.[2] The second is the awaited ratification of the Maastricht Treaty.

All apparently social or political reforms and legislation were, and are, directly connected to the prime economic goal of establishing a

[2] Consideration of the Single European Market can be found in Rajan 1990 and Teague 1989, and for a discussion of its particular impact on women see Pillinger 1992.

'perfect market situation': of making the European Community a major economic force in the world, able to compete with the USA and Japan.[3] The economic emphasis on the potential labour force is a main influence behind the EC's education, training and equal opportunities policies.[4] The EC has consistently emphasised its 'human resources', the rationale being that

> "Europe is poor in raw materials - its most important resource is its people, and on their ability to perform, adapt and develop their entrepreneurial skills will depend the success of the 1992 venture." (Social Europe 3/88 p36; also Preston 1991)

This connection between the economic base of the EC and its direct influence on training is considered below.

This means that, although the EC's concerns might appear 'social', they are nevertheless a direct response to the economic need for a 'flexible workforce': flexible in basic employable skills and easily adaptable to work-place hierarchies, routines and changing locations.[5] It also purports to an apparent disregard of any differentiation by gender or race. This contemporary definition of 'flexible' labour is different from that used by Beechey (1977, 1978) who used it in respect of women's (especially married women's) 'flexible' relationship to the labour market in her development of the concept of a 'reserve army'.[6]

Women are, within the EC, a vital part of this flexible workforce, their potential and possible impact on the labour force is evident from some basic demographic information. (see for instance Mazey 1987) The following statistics are taken from the 1987(b) EC Report: *New Forms and New Areas of Employment Growth*. This is a comparative study focusing specifically on France, Germany, Italy,

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[3] This is evidenced in the following texts: EC 1975; EC 1976; Background Report 1978b; European File 4/84; Social Europe 3/86a; EC 1987a; Ergo News 1990; COM(90)516; EC 1992a; see also: Keiner & Wickham 1980; Collins 1983; McIntosh 1990.

[4] See Meehan 1992 for further discussion of the economic-equal opportunities link; also Chapters 5 and 7.

[5] This particular concept of a 'flexible workforce' can be found in Finn 1987; Buswell 1988; Ainley 1990; Hollands 1990.

[6] Beechey's use of 'flexible' labour, linked to the concept of a 'reserve army' of labour is discussed more fully below: p50/2.

Netherlands and the UK, alongside the overall figures for the European-10 during 1985.

This Report shows that the female population of the Euro-10 is 51.5% of the total, and that this percentage has remained fairly constant throughout the 1980s. The female population of the UK in 1985 was just under 51.3%. In the UK, seven out of ten men are likely to be in the labour force compared with four out of ten women. Of those in the labour force, women and men share very similar chances of employment (around 88/89%). This similarity is more evident within the UK than within the overall Euro-10. However, despite their similar chances of gaining employment, a gender difference is nevertheless clearly evident in the levels of actual employment: the majority of employed men, throughout the Euro-10, are employed full-time. In the UK, of those employed, men are twice as likely as women to be employed full-time, whereas almost half of all women employed are on a part-time basis. Furthermore, the report shows that in the UK eight out of ten employed women are employed in the service sector, compared with five out of every ten men, and men are twice as likely as women to be employed in industry.[7] (Table 1)

IRIS, a current EC initiative relating to women's vocational training also has its roots clearly in the move to the Single European Market (SEM). The motivation behind IRIS, and the 1987 Recommendation reinforcing Directive 76/207 on vocational training, (see Note 1), is that it responds to the

> "enormous economic and social forces which are now combining to create a single internal market, and the demand that labour market strategies for the future must be alive to the overriding need for the Community's economies to make the best use of their human resources, *regardless of gender.*"
> (Social Europe 2/89 p51, emphasis is mine)

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[7] These figures are borne out by other EC Reports and further statistical sources and other analyses of the EC labour market, for instance: EC 1987b; EC 1987c; Women of Europe 30/89; Mazey 1987; Social Europe 2/89; OECD 1989; Women of Europe 36/92. These will be considered in more depth throughout this Chapter, and in Chapter 6: The Labour Market.

This indicates that the 'human resources' concern inherent in the Treaty of Rome has, if anything, grown stronger with the accelerated move towards the SEM. IRIS does not fund women's training, it simply provides a network for those projects which fulfil the (women's training) membership criteria, and disseminates 'good practice'.[8] Further consideration of IRIS is given below, and in Chapter 5.

The SEM is only one of the major demands on the EC's 'human resources'. The other is 'new technology'. Throughout the 1980s the EC produced many reports forewarning the anticipated impact of new technology on the labour market.[9] They focused on occupations of high risk such as banking and textiles, and on the most vulnerable sections of the labour force: low skilled manual workers, and women. The EC Reports of the 1980s stressed the need for special training for these groups. The second consequence of the realization of the forthcoming impact of new technology was the redefinition of

> "vocational training as a process of permanent updating, rather than a 'once-for-a-lifetime' induction into industry." (Neave 1991 p371)

This very important change in the definition of vocational training, along with a deeper discussion of the EC's lateral and vertical training policies, is considered in more depth later in the 'Vocational Training' section of this Chapter.

There is a third strand throughout the 1980s EC Reports on new technology, and that is the perceived threat of the USA and Japan - and in particular that of the new 'telematic' industries - those of communications and information technology.[10] The importance of new technology cannot be under-estimated. In 1984 the EC declared the information technology industry to be as important in size as the coal and steel industries had been in 1950. They point to the

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[8] See for instance, Whitting and Quinn 1989; Preston 1991; Meehan 1992.
[9] Amongst these early reports are: EC 1975; EC Background Report 1980b; EC Background Report 1982a.
[10] See for instance: EC Background Report 1980b; European File 8/84.

growth of three major industries within new technology: information technologies, telecommunications and biotechnology. They particularly stressed the likely expansion of biotechnology stating that already 40% of all manufactured goods are biological in origin. They went on to stress the importance of the role of the European Social Fund (ESF) in response to these changes. (European File 8/84)

The EC fear of the strength of the Japanese and American telematic industries is not simply economic. The Reports refer to the "dangerousness of the situation", and to the possible threat to "liberty and democracy". The response to the "power of the new technologies" is the need to 'get in now, before it is too late' and the "societies of the twenty-first century become separated by it." (European File 3/80 p4) A further report of 1980 again stressed the

> "possible danger ... including political and economical of Europe lagging behind Japan and the USA." (European File 16/80 p6)
>
> "The Commission ... emphasises that failure in this growth area will have important and unpleasant repercussions on levels of employment and standards of living in the future." (EC Background Report 1982b p4)

This early understanding of the EC's awareness of the likely impact of new technology is an important aspect of this study and cannot be underestimated. In 1982 they reported:

> "The Information Technologies (IT) represent the fastest growing sector of industry today, with world markets for IT products increasing annually by ten per cent despite economic recession.
> .... The Commission points out that three years ago about half the products on the market today did not even exist, and this headlong upsurge of innovation and invention appears unlikely to slacken in the foreseeable future. While the US heads the field the Japanese are fast catching up, ... only 40 per cent of the European domestic market and 10 per cent of the world market is held by Community industry itself." (EC Background Report 1982b p1/2; see also Brown & Scase 1991)

These are the forecasts of the spread of technology at the beginning of the period of study: the early 1980s. Their impact on ESF policy and on the vocational training of women is considered in Chapter 5. The actuality of the growth of new technology is considered fully in Chapter 6 - The Labour Market.

Equal Opportunities programmes.

European equal opportunities policies were incorporated into the original Treaty of Rome (1957) through the inclusion of Article 119 which simply referred to 'equal pay between men and women'. The basis for its inclusion appears economic, its aim was

> "to ensure that free competition was not distorted by the employment of women at lower rates than men for the same work." (EC Background Report 1978b p1)

It was considered

> "necessary to avoid a situation where fair competition between Member States of the Community would be distorted by lower wages for women, compared with men, in some Member States." (European File 4/84 p3)

Meehan (1992) also believes it was economically necessary to give the European Community "a human face" and the Member States, unable to agree a standardized social policy, chose instead what they thought would be the cheaper option, that of equal opportunities.

This question concerning the motive behind the equal opportunities policy will be returned to in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, for it is crucial to this study. However, the immediate impact of Article 119, whatever its motive, was that it required Member States to implement it. It is not surprising that the progress across the EC was slow. In 1975 (18 years after the Treaty) the EC issued a specific Directive (number 75/117) to reinforce the requirement on the Member States. The United Kingdom's Equal Pay Act (1970) and the Sex Discrimination Act (1975), although a response to the EC Directive, were, like those of five other Member States, inadequate, and resulted in the Commission taking action against them. The UK resisted until 1981 when, taken by the Commission to the European Court of Justice, they finally amended the EPA (1984) to cover

'equal pay for work of equal value'. (EC Background Report 1981b)[11] Table 2 provides comparative information on the individual Member States' implementation of an Equal Pay Act as well as their internal legal enforcement structure.

The importance of Article 119 is that it provided the route for subsequent Directives relating to equal opportunities. Following on from *Directive 75/117* mentioned above, came *Directive 76/207* covering equal access to, and treatment in, recruitment, employment, promotion, working conditions, dismissal procedures - and training. *Directive 79/7* referred to social security equality. Within the Maastricht Treaty, the Social Charter itself includes, in its chapter on 'women's rights', only one proposal for a binding Directive: the protection of pregnant workers. A Directive on part-time work is covered in a different chapter. The UK government has not agreed to the Social Charter. All these Equality Directives have their base in the economic desire to have a 'fair and equal' European market situation, where no Member State (MS) can access cheap female labour, and thereby gain an economic advantage over its fellow Member States.[12]

The influencing power of the EC.

The European Community, currently made-up of the 12 Member States, and with structures imposed for Member State decision-making control, is nevertheless bigger than its component parts. Fear of the EC's potential power is evident in the current ambivalence towards the Maastricht Treaty and in the linked concern over 'subsidiarity'. An EC response to these concerns over possible federalism is evidenced in the devolution of power to Member States

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[11] For specific analyses of the EC Equality laws see Hoskyns 1985, 1986, 1988; Meehan 1989, 1992. Further consideration of the resulting equal opportunities policies of the UK can be found amongst the following texts: Gregory 1987; Taylor 1987; Straw 1989; Pateman 1988; and for a consideration of the responses of men and 'man-led' organizations to equal opportunities see Cockburn 1991.
[12] For further details of the major equality legislation see Women of Europe 12/83; Warner 1984; Mazey 1987; Preston 1991; EC 1992; Pillinger 1992; Meehan 1992.

through the 1989 Community Frameworks of the Structural Funds.[13] Furthermore, direct control of the European Commission is maintained by individual Member State governments through their own representatives to the decision-making bodies, and through the corresponding lack of decision-making power by *elected* representatives to the European Parliament. (see p23 and Figure 1)

The EC exerts its influence on Member States' economic and social policies. Hoskyns (1986) considers the EC a powerful agent for change in British social policy. Neave (1991) likewise considers it a powerful force on vocational training policy. (see below, p70/2) The EC exerts its influence in three main ways. Firstly, as mentioned above, it has legal force through, for example, Directives and Regulations. Secondly, it employs the incentive of money which is linked to specific policies, such as those concerned with training. And thirdly, and of particular relevance to this study, it agrees equal opportunities medium-term programmes which provide a coordinating framework of 'Objectives' over the forthcoming 5-year period. These programmes are 'Recommendations', they give the EC's point-of-view but they do not carry any legal force.

To date, there have been three separate EC action programmes on equal opportunities for women: the first - 1982-1985; the second - 1986-1990; and the third, launched in 1990, will run from 1991 until 1996. The action programmes' concern has been the right of all women to 'access' within the labour market, along with a simultaneous desire to meet the EC's prime requirement of economic growth. (ERGO News 1990) The second action programme (1986-1990) had considerable influence on the training offered to unemployed women. (COM(85)801) This is the programme with the most direct relevance to the period covered in this research project and its impact, along with that of the third action programme, 1991-96, (COM (90)449) is considered in Chapter 5.

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[13] This is discussed fully in Chapter 5. See Appendix 1, Note 36 for an outline and consideration of the 1993 changes to the ESF definitions of Objectives.

However, these equality programmes have to be seen within the historical development of the EC. Meehan (1992) identifies a 'slowing down' of 'equality actions' from the late 1970s, and suggests that

> "one reason for this might have been that sex equality was not, after all, a cheap way of popularizing the Community," (p60)[14]

She also considers the involvement of women within the EC policy and decision-making process: their feminist politics, their position within the hierarchy, and ultimately their presence, and refers to the virtual absence of women involved in the decision-making process which led to the 1979 social security Directive.[15]

Within the broad, economically determined, equal opportunities programmes and legislation, vocational training is specified. *Directive 76/207* refers to the equal opportunities of women in respect of vocational training. (see Note 1) This Directive placed an obligation on Member States to guarantee women access to training, not just in terms of their numbers but also in terms of the type of training offered. (Social Europe 2/89) However, in November 1987, in recognition of the unchanging gendered structure of the labour market a Recommendation required Member States "to take further action in order to meet the obligations" originally outlined in *Directive 76/207.*[16] Although the Recommendation as such carried no legal force, it reiterated Article 3 of the Directive which obliged Member States to report within three years, on "the measures taken by them to give effect to it." (Social Europe 2/89 p49/50)

In order to assist the Member States in this obligation the Commission set up the IRIS initiative. The role of this initiative is essentially one of demonstrating good practice. It is the first

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[14] See p30: the 'human face' of Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome.
[15] See also Hoskyns 1985, 1988; Vogel-Polsky 1985; Oglesby 1991. Eisenstein's (1991) work on the Australian concept of 'femocrats' is of relevance to this consideration of feminist operating within the bureaucratic decision-making process.
[16] This concept of gendering within the labour market is considered below, p61/67.

such woman-specific initiative in the EC, and as mentioned above, (p27), it is clearly linked with the needs of the Single European Market.[17]

The European Social Fund (ESF).

The ESF, its stated policy intentions towards the vocational training of women, its interpretation and implementation, referred to throughout this study, is considered thoroughly in Chapter 5, with further theoretical analysis continuing into Chapters 6 and 7. The following paragraphs are intended merely to provide a background sufficient to enable the following case study to be placed in its context.

The ESF was set up under Article 123 of the Treaty of Rome (1957) with the purpose of supporting the vocational training and retraining of workers. Its roots lay in the founding principle of the free movement of people. It is a major part of the EC's strategy to improve the economy. An appreciation of this, the *economic* base of the ESF, is central to this study, for this economic concern remains as vital to the EC today as it did in the beginning. Vocational training is also rooted in the Treaty of Rome: Articles 57, 118 and 128. And, as mentioned above, *Directive 76/207* calls for equal treatment of women and men with regard to vocational training. The ESF became operational in 1960, automatically reimbursing Member States for projects carried out. There have been four major changes to the ESF: the Reforms of 1971, 1977, and 1988, and the adopted Decision of 1983. (Social Europe 2/91)

The first period of the ESF (1958-71) was brought to an end by the Reforms of 1971. These linked the ESF more clearly with "Community policy priorities" and declared that:

> "Aid from the ESF should not be a substitute for the usual governmental expenditure in this area. It should ... encourage the relevant authorities to increase efforts to relieve unemployment problems." (European File 19/79 p2/3)

[17] Further discussion of IRIS can be found in Whitting & Quinn 1989; Preston 1991; Meehan 1992.

This Reform resulted in the first specific mention of women as being a 'group' eligible for EC assistance. (Collins 1983)

The EC's *Report on the European Social Fund* (Social Europe 2/91) considers the second period of the ESF to run from 1971 to 1983 thereby including the 1977 Reforms. This Reform included an important change in the administration of the ESF. It had, until then, been directly administered by the EC, but from 1977 national based co-ordinating and information giving systems were started. The UK co-ordinating body is the Department of Employment (DE). These Reforms enabled Member States to consider EC-funded training as part of their national employment policies. Throughout the seventies and eighties, a system of Guidelines and Priorities were used by the EC in an attempt to influence Member States' *national* training programmes. National administrators were now able to filter individual applications to the Fund, in the light of national government led policies. The DE, as well as being the national administrating body, is also a major applicant in its own right. For instance in 1989, of the total £418 million ESF allocation to the UK, £216 million of this went to programmes run by the Government - £179 million to the Training Agency/DE. (DE 1990 p75)

This 1977 Reform is a crucial one for the vocational training of women for it encouraged training in areas of under-representation. A subsequent European File interpreted this to mean

> "particularly in sectors where the labour force is traditionally male." (European File 19/79 p6)

Five years later, the ESF is interpreted in a far more explicit manner in relation to its aims and objectives.

> "The Social Fund supports programmes specifically to help women aged over 25 to find new jobs, especially in the fields of computers, electronics and office work. It also helps women to find jobs in industries where they are traditionally under-represented, or more qualified jobs in industries where women are frequently employed. .... Women benefit from all other forms of Fund activities as well as men. It is thought that about one third of all the people assisted by the Fund are women." (European File 2/84 p9)

This of course means that *two thirds* of those assisted by the Fund are men.[18] This extract from the European File (2/84) shows three priority areas for the funding of women's training:

1. new technology;
2. industries of traditional under-representation;
3. improved qualifications in traditional areas of work.

A central feature of Chapter 5 is its concentration on the development of this concept of 'under-representation', the subsequent layers of interpretation and its influence on policy implementation.

The third period of the ESF began with the Decision adopted by the Commission on 17 October 1983 and covers the years up to 1988. This Decision reinforced the 1977 Reform. It prioritised the funding towards under-privileged regions, and under-privileged workers, including the young unemployed, the physically disabled, the long-term unemployed, migrants - and women. It made "considerable use" of, and also further developed, the 1977 Reform's system of Management Guidelines and Priorities. (Social Europe 2/91 p89)[19] In order to receive funds, or to stand any chance of doing so, the ESF Guidelines on funding Priorities and criteria must be met, thus ensuring at least explicit compliance with the funders' wishes. The extent to which these intentions are shared by other interested parties, or achieved by the projects funded, is an integral part of this particular study for these, the second and third periods, (from the 1977 Reform on), are the years focused on in this research project.

We are currently in the fourth period of the ESF which began with the Reform of the Structural Funds of 1988, and which became operational in 1989. This major Reform is called the 'Structural Funds Reform' for it also involved the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). These three Funds are intended to operate

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[18] European File 19/86 provides further information on the proportion of funds received by women.
[19] Table 3 shows, for 1982 and 1986, the percentage of eligible requests made to the ESF which receive funding.

in a more interwoven fashion, as distinct from that of their previous isolated manner. (COM(87)376/2/Final) The importance of the Funds was also increased financially: the Reform increasing them from a 1988 draft budget of 7,400 mecu to 13,000 mecu in 1992 (£8,580 million).[20] The House of Lords Report (1988, p23) provides details on the allocations to the three Funds for the years 1982 to 1986.

The aim of the 1988 Reform was to "decentralise decisions on the allocation of funds." (COM(90)516 p5, Executive Summary) It introduced the Community Support Frameworks (CSFs) which, agreed individually by each Member State, allows them to determine their main priorities for funding within the EC determined objectives. This has considerably strengthened the role of the Member State coordinating bodies, the intention is that the CSFs "act as a catalyst for national policies." (COM (90)516 p3) The 1988 Reform represented a major change in the policy intention and administration of the ESF. The trend towards the rationalization of the Structural Funds was reinforced by a 1990 EC Memorandum. (COM(90)334 Final) Preston details three major aims behind this rationalization: firstly, to formulate general objectives for the whole sector; secondly, to allow for greater coherence within individual Member States; and thirdly, for the EC to "strengthen its capacity to monitor and evaluate these initiatives." (1991 p55) Although this 1988 Reform lie at the end of the main period of this research study, it provides the legal structure for the present term of policy decisions, and its implications are therefore considered towards the end of Chapter 5.

Allocation of the Structural Funds.

The Single European Act (1987) required the Commission to reform the Structural Funds and to ensure coordination of them. As mentioned above, it is intended that the three Funds work in unison on a regionally coordinated medium-term type plan, rather than, as previously, in an unconnected and often annual 'tinkering' way, with

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[20] A million ecu makes 1 mecu. The rate of exchange is that used by the House of Lords Report (1988): 1 ecu = 66p.

local economic problems perceived quite separately one from another. The House of Lords Select Committee on the European Communities meets to consider the implications of EC legislation for the UK. In 1988 the Committee produced a Report on the Reform of the Structural Funds, the analysis of which is considered in greater detail in Chapter 5. Here, however, its background statistical information is useful. The following paragraphs are devoted to this quantitative data, for it enables the following research project to be placed within the wider EC financial context. The first paragraph details the information given on the 1986 allocations; the second, the aggregate information for 1982-86; the third, individual Member States' contributions to the Budget, and allocations from it, for this period. Following this is a short analysis of the implication of these statistics for this thesis. Throughout this section the unit of currency is the mecu (a million ecus), and the rate of exchange used is that of the House of Lords Report: that of the 28 April 1988: 1 ecu = £0.66p.

Firstly the breakdown of Funds for 1986. The total commitments of the EC Budget to the Funds (all three) for this year were 6,705 mecu (£4,425 million) and the actual payments made from it were 5,532 mecu (£3,651 million). These payments were divided as follows:

ERDF	received 50%	2,766 mecu	(£1825.5 mill)
ESF	received 37%	2,047 mecu	(£1351 mill)
EAGGF	received 13%	719 mecu*	(£474.5 mill)

* to the Guidance Section of the EAGGF.

The Report goes on to show that the UK was the second largest recipient of the 1986 ESF funds, receiving 16% of the ESF allocation (£216 million).

The second strand of information provided by the Report is that covering the period 1982-6. The UK, over this four-year period, is the second largest recipient of the three joint Funds; Italy is the first. Furthermore over these same four years the UK is the largest recipient of ESF funds, receiving 25.5% of the total ESF allocation, (2,538.9 mecu) Between 1982 and 1986 the UK has received £1,675.7 million from the ESF, (Table 4). The Structural Funds in general,

and the ESF in particular, have represented a valuable source of money to the UK.

Individual Member States contribute to the EC Budget as well as receive from it. Listed below are the contributions to and payments received from the entire EC Budget for 1982 to 1986.[21]

	% contributions made; (col. A)		% payments received; (col. B)		Structural Funds as % of total
West Germany	27.6%	(top)	16.4%		6.5%
France	20.0%	(2nd)	20.0%	(top)	12.1%
UK	19.9%	(3rd)	15.7%	(4th)	23.3%
Luxembourg	2.0%	(bottom)	0.0%	(lowest)	46.5%
Portugal	2.0%	(bottom)	0.4%		59.9%

What this Table shows, regarding allocations from the overall EC Budget, is that those Member States which make the largest contributions also receive the largest payments back. Within this payment, the proportion received from the Structural Funds ranges from just under a quarter (UK) to less than a tenth (West Germany). The Member States making the smallest contribution receive the smallest payment back. However, the amount from the Structural Funds represents, in these cases, a far higher proportion of the total: for example, Luxembourg 46.5% and Portugal 59.9%. The significance of this can be seen in the following calculation:

from	entire EC Budget;		Structural Funds;		remaining budget;
Portugal	0.4%	497.8 mecu	59.9%	298 mecu	199.8 mecu
UK	15.7%	18,632.2 mecu	23.3%	4,341.3 mecu	14,290.9 mecu
West Germany	16.4%	19,544.8 mecu	6.5%	1,270.4 mecu	18,274.4 mecu

The Table shows that the payments from the Structural Fund represent only 15.4% of the total EC payments. The specific ESF allocation is only a percentage of this.

Two points are clear from this analysis: firstly the Table shows that Portugal receives 59.9% of the Structural Funds whereas West Germany receives only 6.5%. This can, however, give a false impression of the true overall allocations of EC money, for

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[21] The complete Table from which these extracts are taken can be found in Appendix 3, Table 5.

Portugal only receives 298 mecu compared with West Germany's 1,270.4 mecu and the UK's 4,341.3 mecu. Secondly, there is the money received which is *not* from the Structural Funds: Portugal's 199.8 mecu is in contrast to West Germany's 18,274.4 mecu and the UK's 14,290.9 mecu.

These figures raise questions regarding the nature and criteria covering the allocation of the non-Structual Funds Budget, which are not within the remit of this particular study, but which are important to bear in mind throughout this study's consideration of ESF policy intentions and funding allocations. This section indicates the sums of money involved in the EC Budget as a whole, specifically in the Structural Funds, and within this the considerable proportion (especially of the ESF) which the UK receives. Chapter 5 will analyse these Funds for their indication of the allocation specifically to the vocational training of unemployed women. Further quantitative data concerning the allocation of Funds for other years supports the general trend outlined in the above few paragraphs, (see Tables 6 and 7).

As well as the actual monies received, the other indicator of the importance of the ESF is the number of projects funded and people trained. Table 8 provides the relevant details for 1987. This Table shows the UK to have had the most projects funded and correspondingly, overwhelmingly, the most people receiving ESF training.[22]

Main points on the European Community.

From concentrating on the policy-making structure of the EC, and the legal or interpretive nature of various EC documents and publications, this section emphasised the economic foundation of the Community and in particular the need for a 'flexible' workforce - of which women were seen to be a vital part. Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome was seen as the legal root for subsequent EC equal opportunities policies which were seen as both a direct influence on

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[22] For further information regarding allocation of Funds see Tables 6 and 7.

training policy and as a legal requirement on Member State's national equality legislation. The move towards the Single European Market re-affirmed the economic necessity for training women. The other major impact was seen to be new technology. The early identification of the need for a technologically literate labour force was increased by the perceived technological threat of Japan and the USA. Finally, this section focused on the ESF: giving firstly, a brief historic overview concentrating on its economic base; and secondly, a financial placing of the ESF as part of the combined Structural Funds - showing the financial contributions and allocations during the period relevant to this study. The intention was to show the importance of the ESF whilst at the same time locating it in its wider financial context.

THE LABOUR MARKET.

There are two main sources to this section: primary and secondary. The secondary sources relate to the field of knowledge concerning labour market studies, with a particular focus on gender. The primary sources provide quantitative data relating to the UK and EC labour markets leading up, and immediately prior, to the main period of study in this research project: 1983-89. Chapter 6 deals in detail with the labour market during and immediately after the period of study. Throughout this section, and Chapter 6, the emphasis is on firstly, occupational and industrial change, and secondly, the position of women.

This study concentrates on the class-related gendering of the EC and UK labour markets, which are themselves located in an *international* division of labour: increasingly so as the production of manufactured goods are moved by multi-national companies to those countries where labour and other overheads are cheapest. (Brown and Scase 1991; Elson & Pearson 1989) The most significant trends within Britain, for this study, have been the decline in manual work, especially for skilled manual workers and the rapid expansion of new technology: both in production and use.[23] The growth in new technology is directly linked with changes in production: from the Fordian given need for individuals' almost unthinking routine actions performed along the conveyor-belt system, to the Post-Fordian need for all-round general labourers, able to exercise some degree of discretion and independent judgement. (Brown and Scase 1991) The general trend has been for new technology to raise the levels of production, to reduce the labour needed, but at the same time to require it to be more flexible, more generally skilled and more individually adaptable.

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[23] The consequences of the decline in skilled manual work are considered amongst the following texts: Sarre 1989a; Yates 1985; Cockburn 1987; Hamnett et al 1989; Pond 1989; McDowell 1989, and a consideration of new technology in Hamnett et al 1989; McDowell 1989; Cockburn 1987. Both of these trends are considered in greater depth in Chapter 6.

Occupational and industrial change.

There are two separate general influences on labour market structure. The first is *occupational change*. This occurs *within* industries and is the result of the division of labour or the specialisation of certain tasks. The second is *industrial change*. This occurs *between* industries and is the result of changing patterns. The EC Report, *New forms and new areas of employment growth (UK)*, (EC 1987c), provides a useful summary of the occupational and industrial changes in the UK during the second half of the twentieth century. The following section draws extensively on this report for its findings are extremely relevant to this research project. Although concentrating statistically on the years between 1971 and 1981, the Report provides an overall view of developments from the 1950s and interprets the findings, along with an analysis of more recent statistical information into the early eighties.

The Report (EC 1987c), states that in the 1950s and 1960s the British manufacturing industry remained the centre of the economy. However, an already noticeable slow rate of growth, along with an increase in production, was already causing unemployment, with further unemployment in the primary sector. Traditional employment in heavy industries was also beginning to decline. The service sector was beginning to expand and to employ more labour. Although this remains the boom period of employment now enviously looked back on, the trends of sectoral decline and growth which continue throughout the second half of the century are clearly identifiable.

The Report shows that, from 1975, great changes began. There was a "substantial decline" in the manufacturing industry during the late seventies and early eighties, increased productivity resulting in the loss of 2 million jobs. (EC 1987c p94) Two-thirds of those unemployed, between 1971 and 1981 were women.[24] (Pearson 1989) Neither the primary nor the manufacturing sectors are expected to increase employment in the 1990s, "a growth in demand for banking,

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[24] Unemployment statistics for 1983 to 1989 are provided by Tables 9 and 10.

insurance, legal and other professional services" is anticipated. (EC 1987c p111) However, with hindsight, this anticipation can be seen to be grounded in the over-optimism of the financial boom of the 1980s. Due to a combination of both the British (and western world) recession, and the impact of new technology, this growth has not materialised: banks have retrenched, streamlined their services and laid-off staff.

This Report provides quantitative information regarding occupational changes in the UK from 1971-81. (EC 1987c) The unit of measurement used in the Report's tables (3.4 and 5.4) is that of the numbers employed. Therefore the indication of growth or decline relate to the number employed and not to profit or productivity. Tables 11 and 12, compiled from the Report are, along with detailed analyses, appended to this thesis. In compiling these particular Tables, attention has been paid to traditional occupations of employment for women, (for instance retail, textiles and office work), and to non-traditional occupations such as those offered by the training project focused on in this study.

The Report concludes that

> "... over time the process of specialisation and the division of labour resulted as we have seen in the transformation of employment from blue collar, manual jobs to white collar, non-manual ones. ... *Skills involving mainly physical dexterity were replaced by those requiring mental dexterity.*" (EC 1987c p58; emphasis is mine)

Again, it must be stressed, that this trend away from manual work to the increased importance and need for the development of mental work, was identifiable in the UK throughout the decade prior to the setting up of the non-traditional manual skills training considered in this study.

The decline in manufacturing industries, and the rise in the tourist industry and the retail industry, is consistent throughout the 1970s. Of particular importance to this study is the identifiable decline in the construction industry and the equally visible

expansion in certain areas of telecommunications, especially telematics. (see Table 12 and the accompanying detailed analysis.)

Segmentation of the labour market.

Chapter 6 considers the EC and UK labour markets in detail during and following the research period, and concentrates on the concept of 'occupational gendering'. The aim of this section is to provide a foundation of previous studies and concepts, thereby enabling the subsequent analysis. Although the emphasis is on a gendered analysis of the labour market, it is not simply on 'women as a class' (see Chapter 3), but is one which focuses on the class and race effects within gender. The class analysis of the labour market adopted in this study is based on the premise that the divisions are the result of power struggles between differing groups, rather than simply as the result of differing skills resulting from individuals' differing experiences of educational, vocational or occupational opportunities.[25]

Brown and Scase's (1991) analysis of the UK's contemporary labour market, focuses on its impact on the 'poor' 'disadvantaged' working-class, stressing the effect on single-parent families, the elderly and the long-term unemployed. Whilst discussing the close link between social class and multiple deprivation, they refute the notion of an 'underclass' which 'neatly' divides 'us' from 'them'. They state that as a group these people share nothing more in common with each other than they do with us, except for "a life of poverty". (Brown and Scase 1991 p11) It is women from this impoverished section of the working-class who form the 'target' group for much of the training discussed in this research project. (This is discussed further in Chapter 5). Brown and Scase (1991) point to an increasing labour-based polarization in the UK, concluding that not only are there differences existing between people *with* paid work, but that there are also further differences between all of those in work and those trying to gain access to it.

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[25] This understanding can be gained from the following texts: Rubery 1978, 1980; Brown & Scase 1991; Edwards, Gordon and Reich 1975; Walby 1983.

They argue that all of these differences are based on class, gender and race, as well as disability, age and region, and that furthermore, these 'inequalities' in Britain have increased during the 1980s.

Marx and Weber provide the starting points for consideration of the labour-market divisions within society. Subsequent theories on labour market segmentation are, broadly speaking, rooted in the foundational works of either Marx or Weber. A brief reference to this is found within Note 2. An essential difference between these two schools of thought was reflected in early British feminism. British Marxist-feminists tended to see the oppression of women as being rooted in the needs of capitalism. Radical-feminists, on the other hand, tended instead to focus on the *processes* by which women, as a social category and irrespective of their class, were oppressed through patriarchy, with capitalism viewed as an adjunct to this. These basic differences, much simplified here, are developed further in the 'feminist theorists' section of this chapter, and in wider philosophical terms in Chapter 3.

It is the *feminist interpretations* of Marxist and Weberian concepts which are the focus of this study, rather than the work of Marx or Weber themselves. To reiterate, it is the *feminist* analyses and concerns which are evident throughout the entire study: Chapter 3 engages directly with the theories of feminists; questions relating to the 'processes' and 'structures' of patriarchy and capitalism emerge throughout the analysis of data in Chapters 4, 5 and 6; and finally, this particular theoretical thread is reconsidered in the conclusion of Chapter 7.

Throughout the 1980s a major focus of labour market studies has been on the concept of a 'divided' or 'segmented' economy. An early concept of multiple segmentation was that developed by Edwards, Gordon and Reich in 1975. In 1976 Barron and Norris presented a model of two segments: a primary/core group of professional, highly skilled workers, and a secondary group of casual, low-paid, low-

skilled workers. (see also Atkinson 1984) Walby (1983) critiques Barron and Norris (1976) for their lack of analysis of any patriarchal structures existing within the labour market. In 1985 Standing outlined a model consisting of five segments, which is basically an elaboration of the two-segment model with an added lower segment of those only marginally attached to the labour force, such as the registered unemployed. Pond (1989) returns to the two-segment, 'dual-labour market' model, stressing the reliance of the capitalist economy on the 'secondary' group of workers. He refers to this group as the 'labour reserve', arguing that the majority of these secondary workers are women or black people. (Pond 1989; see also Bryan et al 1985)

Sarre, (1989a), presents a three-tiered model: the professional well-paid 'core'; the part-time, flexible 'peripheral' sector -

> "a high proportion (of which are) women and members of ethnic minorities" (p117);

and the 'long-term unemployed'.[26] This three-tiered model is, as will be seen from Chapter 6, the most relevant to this study. An important observation, for this study, made by Sarre, is that the 'core' workers need to have 'functional flexibility' so that they are able to adapt to changing labour market needs, and thereby increase their chances of keeping their jobs. (p117) The importance of this, especially through the impact of new technology, evidenced in Chapter 6, subsequently becomes a major point in the thesis.

Despite the difference in detail of the segmentation models, they all agree that better educated, professionally qualified and highly skilled workers are increasingly the people most likely to obtain (and keep) highly paid, highly valued, relatively secure jobs. The section below concerning occupational gendering shows that the potential holders of such jobs are, (and are intended to be), men. (see also McDowell 1989; Social Europe 2/1989) Studies on the

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[26] See also Walford et al 1988 for a consideration of the young unemployed; and Dex 1985 and Allen & Massey 1988 for gender and race analyses of the 'peripheral' sector.

segmentation of the labour force show that it is highly likely that the holders of the secure 'core' jobs will be 'white', male, able-bodied, middle-class and highly educated. Therefore, the less one fits this model, the less chance one has of obtaining and keeping well-paid, relatively secure, employment.

Sex segregation of the labour market.

There are three main groups of labour market theorists who have attempted to explain the horizontal and vertical (or, respectively, occupational and hierarchical) labour segregation of women.

The first are those constructing theories around the concept of a gender segmented labour market. Gendering is seen as political, in that identifiable structures emerge, are constructed and maintained, which are seen to work for the benefit of patriarchy as well as for capitalism. These essentially socialist-feminist theorists are concerned with the processes and structures within the labour market by which the gendering takes place. This is the broad group of theorists concentrated on in the following section; in particular the work of Sylvia Walby and Cynthia Cockburn.[27]

The second group are those basing their arguments on 'cultural theories' or 'ideologies' with the emphasis placed on 'sex-typing' of occupations so that individuals make choices based on their 'traditional' notions of masculinity and femininity. (Oppenheimer 1970; Barron and Norris 1976; Rendel 1985) These notions epitomise the 'liberal', egalitarian, feminist approach to labour market sex differences. The belief is that changes can be made through challenging sex-stereotypes and through increasing 'access' to non-traditional areas.

The third group believe that women are in low-skilled, low-paid jobs because they have less 'human-capital' with which to enter, or re-enter, the labour market. (Mincer 1962; Beechey 1977, 1978) This

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[27] Chapter 3 explores the merging of certain aspects of radical-feminist thought with that of socialist-feminism and which can be identified within the work of these two theorists.

particular Marxist-feminist approach argues to increase women's 'human capital' through improving their education and training. Access to this will increase their 'capital' and also work towards changing the sex-segregation of the labour market. In these ways, both liberal and Marxist feminists can share, from their quite different starting points, and even more different aims and intentions, an interest and belief in 'equal opportunities'. The 'feminist theorists' section, below, further considers these perspectives with regards to the labour market, whereas Chapter 3 considers the underlying broader feminist theories.

The generalised Marxist-feminist position, on the other hand, through its reliance on the concept of group-based power relations, fits very well with the segmentation model, although, arguably, it is limited by its general rejection of the structures and processes of patriarchy.

The socialist-feminist position also has its basis in the understanding of power-relations, but these include not only those class based ones of capitalism, but also the gender based ones of patriarchy as well. The concept of 'gendering' (see below) which is so central to the analysis developed within this thesis is a necessary part of the socialist-feminist understanding of the sex-segregation of the labour market. This socialist-feminist model of sex-segregation is the one which fits most appropriately with a gendered analysis of Sarre's segmentation model, and as such is the one which forms the basis of the analysis of Chapter 6.

This, admittedly and necessarily much simplified sketch of the three main, essentially white, feminist perspectives on the labour market are important in this study for two reasons. The first is their direct relevance to the consideration of feminisms (especially socialist and liberal) which runs throughout this thesis. The second is their degree of linkage with the labour market segmentation models.

They each provide an explanation for the particular positioning of women within the labour market. However, the liberal feminist position, from within its liberal epistemological framework, can only posit an individual-based critique which finds its answer within the discourse of equal opportunities. The particular, and deliberate, linkage of gender with labour market segmentation requires an understanding of group-based power-relations which are simply not part of the liberal philosophy.

From within the general framework of socialist-feminism Walby (1983), is interested in the structures and processes of gendering, and within this she critiques the 'human-capital' theory of a 'reserve army', used by some Marxist-feminist theorists to explain women's labour market position and unemployment. (Beechey 1977; 1978. See also Connelly 1978) The basic 'human capital' argument is that, due partly to women's position in the family, women have less 'human capital' in terms of education or skill and they therefore occupy a less-skilled, lower-paid position in the labour force. Walby critiques all of these theorists for their failure to consider patriarchal relations within their analysis. Walby (1983; 1986), believes the concept of women as a 'reserve army' is seriously flawed: firstly, it explains women's movement in and out of paid work by reference to their family, to which Walby argues that, conversely, "women's position in the family is largely determined by their position in paid work." (1986 p70) Secondly, she points out that if women and their low wages were so attractive to capitalism, they would be employed in preference to men, and that thirdly, Beechey's argument that in times of recession women are laid-off more than men, is not borne out - and neither is it being so now. (see Chapter 6)

Some Marxist theorists have responded to Walby's critiques. Armstrong and Armstrong, (1987; 1988), for instance, argue that the 'reserve army' is not a simple concept: that is, women do not just 'passively respond' to the labour market's demands, but 'actively direct' their labour, and that furthermore the particular 'reserve

army' of married women are "becoming less and less flexible as their alternatives to wage labour are reduced". (1987 p224) Reiterating Marx they state that the 'reserve army' does not simply fulfil a functional need of capitalism, but that it can, and does, also lower the value (and the working conditions) of labour.

Cockburn (1990) whilst also linking women's position in the labour market with that of their role in the family, nevertheless presents a quite different, basically socialist-feminist, critique of the 'reserve army' concept, arguing that:

> "Women fill certain inferior places provided by capitalism, but do so in a way for which they are destined by the shackles of family life. The free-standing woman, the physical reality of men, their muscle or initiative, the way they wield a spanner or the spanner they wield, these things have been diminished in our account." (Cockburn 1990 p 98)

Cockburn's argument is that family life, potential male violence, and the gendering of skills and occupations, all combine to ensure women's peripheral or non-existent role within the labour market. This is fundamentally different from Marxist-feminists such as Beechey who see the family as providing the economic support, the foundation in which women, protected by the higher earnings of husbands or fathers, are financially buffered against unemployment and this allows them not only to move in and out of the labour market as required, but also to accept low-wages for their labour. Yet, as Cockburn points out, there are many women for whom this dependent 'conjugal' or 'paternal' relationship within a family is non-existent: single, widowed, lesbian and independent women. Both Cockburn and Beechey identify and explain the position of women in the peripheral and unemployed sectors of the labour market. However, a significant difference between them lies in Cockburn's greater emphasis on an analysis of patriarchy interweaving with that of capitalism.

The majority of trainees in this research case study, epitomising the women targeted by ESF vocational training projects, are not economically supported by men - either because they are not involved

with men, or because the man will not support her, or, increasingly likely, because the man is himself unemployed. The assumptions inherent in the Marxist 'reserve-army' concept inadequately explain the consistent European-wide occupational and hierarchical segregation of women. The following section considers theories relating to this gendering of the labour market.

Women in the labour market.

The Women of Europe Report, *Position of women on the labour market*, (36/92) provides a broad overview of the position of women in the EC labour market from 1983 to 1990 - the years most relevant to this research study. Although considered in detail in Chapter 6, the Report's identification of two major EC labour market gender trends is most relevant here at the beginning of the study.

The first trend is 'uniformisation and convergence' in which the gap between the economic activity of women and men is narrowing. This 'feminization' of the labour market is not, they argue, the result of women taking men's jobs, but is due to increased job creation in women's traditional sectors of work. This increase in female employment and the decrease in male employment has not significantly affected the persistent 'horizontal (occupational) segmentation' identifiable throughout the Community, even in those Member States where the labour force is more evenly divided between men and women.

This leads into the second trend in the Report: 'segmentation and differentiation'. The Report concentrates on this trend, considering horizontal/occupational segregation to be a persistent underlying cause of women's inequality in the labour market. These concepts are crucial to the analysis of the quantitative data of Chapter 6. Table 13 shows the distribution of women's employment, in 1989, by sector for each Member State. (see also Social Europe 2/1989)

This Report (Women of Europe 36/92) found that, despite the increase in women's employment in traditional sectors, when women became

unemployed they stayed unemployed longer than men and found it more difficult to find new work. Throughout the EC, (except the UK), the unemployment rate of women is "systematically higher" than men's: the 1990 EC average unemployment rate being 6.6% for men, 11.2% for women. (Women of Europe 36/92 p23; see also Mazey 1987) This means that European women are almost twice as likely as men to be unemployed and to stay unemployed for longer. The unemployment rates for men and women across the Member States from 1983 to 1989 are provided within Table 9.[28] A person's race is also found to affect their chances of unemployment. Sarre (1989b) has found that increased unemployment has widened the racial gap between whites and blacks: from a shared unemployment rate of 4% in 1974 to the following in 1982:

West Indian	men	25%	women	16%	
White	men	13%	women	10%	(p144)

Unemployment statistics are notoriously unreliable providing at best only an indicator of the population not in formal paid employment.[29] The unreliability within UK unemployment statistics is multiplied by each Member State when looking at EC statistics. For instance, the definition of unemployment used by the UK Government has undergone numerous changes in the last fifteen years. Furthermore during the years 1983-90, those covered by this *Women of Europe* Report, (36/92), there was no commonly agreed EC definition. There are additional complications in unemployment statistics of women. In the UK alone, married women and single mothers experience bureaucratic barriers when attempting to register as unemployed, and many women recently unemployed cease to register once their statutory one year entitlement to Unemployment Benefit finishes. National statistics also smudge the regional differences in

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[28] Women in Europe 30/89, tables 4.1 to 4.5 provides similar information for 1986 and 1988. Statistical information on the numbers and percentages of people employed relative to the labour force as a whole is provided by the appended Table 10. The intention of these Tables at this point is to indicate the spread and importance of unemployment as an issue, but it is considered in more depth in Chapter 6.

[29] For a discussion of this see EC 1987c; Mazey 1987, and Brown and Scase 1991 for relevant distinctions on the formal and informal economy.

unemployment. Brown and Scase (1991) provide a useful discussion of this.

The importance of unemployment for this study is two-fold. Firstly, it represents the main criteria of the European Funding policies, in that the women trainees must be unemployed. Secondly, the unemployed, within Sarre's segmentation model, are a necessary part of the labour market structure.

Turning to the position of *employed* women in the labour market, the reports and statistics show that the majority of employed women are still located in the traditionally gendered areas of the labour force, with low-status, low-pay, and negligible choice or opportunity for advancement.[30] This position has remained essentially constant throughout the history of the European Community. In 1979, twenty-two years after the Treaty of Rome and the Article on Equal Pay for women (see above), and nine years after the UK Equal Pay Act (EPA), the Commission reports that the major reason for women's poor pay is that:

> "Traditional work roles for men and women still persist - with women concentrated in the least well paid jobs" - that is the gender segregation of the labour market. (EC Background Report 1979a p1)

Thirteen years on again, in 1992, it is reported that "discrimination and segregation continue to reign." (Women of Europe 36/92 p1)[31]

In 1986 women represented 38.26% of the total EC labour force. Within individual Member States the percentages range from the lowest in Ireland (29.78%) to the highest in Denmark (45.58%); women

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[30] This discussion is located in, amongst many others, the following texts: Wolpe 1978; Barrett 1980; Beechey 1986; Beechey & Whitelegg 1986; Beechey & Perkins 1987; Gaskell 1987; Mazey 1987; Armstrong & Armstrong 1988; Cockburn 1988; Mandon 1988; Pollert 1981; Walby 1988; Elson & Pearson 1989; Goldstein 1989; Morris 1991.

[31] See also Social Europe 2/89. Pillinger (1992) includes a case study of the UK interpretation and implementation of the EC Equal Pay Directive. She concludes that the British interpretation restricted the possible benefits to women.

in the UK represent 40.9% of the total labour force. (Women of Europe 30/89 Table 2.1 p36) A further analysis shows:

	women	men
employed in services:	72.0%	49.6%
employed in industry:	20.5%	41.9%
employed in agriculture:	7.5%	8.5%

Men are far more evenly distributed between the industry and service sectors. This industrial segregation, along with the occupational and hierarchical segregation within it, is discussed further in the analysis of recent quantitative data contained in Chapter 6.

Earnings are often used as a labour market segmentation indicator. A gendered analysis of EC earnings show that those of women consistently below those of men, in the UK they remain fairly steady at approximately 68% of men's. A further analysis of the rates of pay throughout the EC for the years 1972 to 1987, and from 1983 to 1989 is appended to Tables 14 and 15.

The importance of the data of Tables 14 and 15 is three-fold. Firstly it shows the EPA having only a limited effect on women's earnings relative to men. Secondly, it shows that the majority of women are employed in jobs of lower-pay than men, and given that pay relates to status, it can be assumed that women are in lower-status work than men. These Tables do not include race-specific information. However, Sarre (1989b) found black women to be generally under-represented in all areas of employment except for the *other non manual* category where they were considerably over-represented:[32]

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[32] See also Bruegel 1989.

> "there is still twice as high a proportion of black women in semi-skilled jobs as white women." (Sarre 1989b p145; see also Pond 1989)

Thirdly, the percentage is an average which means that there are some women who will be in a better relative wage position than that quoted, but equally there will be other women who will be in a worse relative wage position - and it is these latter women to whom the vocational training programmes referred to in this study are aimed.

An interesting factor in gendered differentials of earnings is the following remark that:

> "In a number of countries .... the pay differentials have proved to be widest at the extremes of the educational scale, that is, the cases of women with little or no schooling and those with high educational levels." (EC Women of Europe 36/92 p53)

The women at the bottom of the educational scale are those focused on in this study. Considering the belief that highly educated people are more likely to be employed, they quote the OECD (1989) finding that this is less true for women than it is for men: increased education means the woman is more likely to be 'economically active', but she is not as likely as a man, with the same qualification, to be employed. However, women with low levels of education are more likely to be employed than similarly educated men. The Report concludes that:

> "this obviously reflects the structure of female employment, notably the concentration of women in unskilled sectors and jobs." (Women of Europe 36/92 p30)

This Report on the *Position of women in the labour market* concludes that gendered pay differentials are the result of 'horizontal (occupational) segmentation' which is then reinforced by 'vertical (hierarchical) segmentation'. (see also Hakim 1979). The fourth point is that the Report cites "the systematic failure to reward women's skills", which means that traditional male qualities and skills are "systematically given more weight". (Women of Europe 36/92 p54) The fifth and final point is that of the gendered

effects of the 'bonus system': in Germany and Denmark bonuses are used to make "disguised head-of-family allowances" and in the UK bonuses are part of male dominated pay structures but not part of female-dominated ones.

Within the horizontal/occupational segmentation of the EC labour market, women are far less likely than men to be employed full-time, but are more likely to be in temporary or part-time employment: lower paid and less secure: in the EC's words "atypical". This is of course 'atypical' to the typical employment structure, that of men. (Women of Europe 36/92) There is an age factor also involved in atypical employment. The section of the labour force most likely to be engaged in temporary work are young women and young men aged between 14 and 24, there being no gender difference here. However after 24, "temporary employment declines amongst men but persists among women." (Women of Europe 36/92 p37)

Part-time employment shows a similar predominance of women. The gendered break-down of part-time work across the Community shows that even for those Member States with the highest percentage of male part-time workers, there is a vast difference between them and the percentage of female part-time workers, (Table 16). The UK has the highest percentage of married women employed in part-time work: a British married woman is less likely to be employed full-time than in any other EC State, (Table 16). Of course, this is quite different from whether or not married women might be employed in the first place. The picture, by 1989, remained very much the same.[33]

Windebank (1992) considers the methods and the methodology used in the collection and analysis of 'cross-EC' data on women's employment. Her critique of this essentially quantitative data is that it is categorised in terms of women's nationality (or more

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[33] The vast majority of these women, employed part-time, were in traditional female service industries: 91% in Belgium; 88% in the UK; 87% in the Netherlands; 86% in Denmark. These service industries were those of cleaning, waitressing, and retail, where the skills are under-valued, the wages low, working conditions poor, and job security negligible.

accurately, residency of a particular Member State), and that this automatically leads to the compilation of league-tables. She considers four different perspectives used by researchers in their analysis of such data: neoclassical; feminist; culturalist; and institutional-failure. She concludes that irrespective of the perspectives of the analyst, and of the issues which they would prefer to focus on, the data compels them to concentrate on the only identifiable variable: individual Member States' social and economic policies. The Member State classification negates all internal and inter-State variables such as culture, class, ethnicity, race, et cetera. The importance of this is that such limited State-identified data and its subsequent interpretations are used to inform and direct future EC policy. She argues for an extensive qualitative research programme, and points out that the reality of women's employment can only be realized when it is considered in relation to that of men's employment. For a further consideration of these issues see Chapter 3. (see also Brown & Scase 1991; Cockburn 1988)

Feminist labour market theorists.

This section concentrates on a particular aspect of feminist theory - that relating to the labour market. To consider in any more depth the wealth of contemporary international work on feminist theory, its internal shadings, arguments and ongoing debates, would itself demand a separate thesis. However, such theories of the labour market reflect the broader fundamental feminist concerns of capitalism, patriarchy, biology, misogyny, the body, issues of power, physical strength and violence. Furthermore the research study itself is rooted in feminist epistemology and is concerned with the construction of feminist methodology. Chapter 3 considers these broader feminist issues. The roots of feminist analyses of the labour market lie in the pervasive 'prime oppression' question: patriarchy or capitalism. The term 'patriarchy' is used in this study to refer to the exploitation of women through the structures and processes which maintain male privileges - social, economic,

physical and political - and which are identifiable throughout society.

The following account exaggerates the distinctions between differing shades of feminist thought, it reduces the arguments to their bare bones, and highlights the essential differences between the four main western, white, feminist theories.[34] These are: Marxist, socialist, radical and liberal. This necessary exaggeration increases the already existing difficulty of detailed referencing within each perspective. Increasingly, many theorists could as easily be allocated to one end of a perspective (for instance, socialist) as to the other end of a differing perspective (such as radical). The references given in this paragraph refer to the relative clarity of these perspectives at the end of the 1970s to the early 1980s, rather than the merging, multi-positioning, of the 1990s.[35] The following point made by the North American feminist Alison Jaggar is pertinent here:

> "Feminist theorists and activists do not always wear labels and, even if they do, they are not always agreed on who should wear which label. Moreover, there are differences even between those wearing the same label and, in addition dialogue between feminists of different tendencies has led to modifications in all their views." (1983 p123)

The aims of each of the four white perspectives differ somewhat in their emphasis, this being directly linked to their differing identification of the *cause* of gender inequalities or oppression. The liberal-feminists deny the importance of both capitalist and patriarchal structures and processes. 'Inequalities' can be rectified through improving or equalising the 'rights' of individuals: the EPA and SDA, and much of the European 'equal

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[34] Further consideration, including critiques by for instance, black feminists, and postmodernist-feminist perspectives is found in Chapter 3. And, for further discussion of western feminisms see for instance Banks 1981, and Jaggar 1983.

[35] Michelle Barrett and Anne Phillips (1992) provide an account of this process. See also Chapter 3. Barrett herself has moved from her early location within Marxist-feminism to her present identification with post-modernism. (Barrett 1992; see also Jackson 1992)

opportunity' legislation, considered throughout this thesis, is rooted in this liberal, egalitarian, tradition.

The remaining three perspectives use the concept of 'oppression'. The base of the Marxist argument is that:

> "capitalism *uses* patriarchy and patriarchy is *defined by the needs of capitalism.*" (Eisenstein 1981 quoted in Cockburn 1986 p81)[36]

Radical feminists, on the other hand, argue that patriarchy pre-dated capitalism and what we have now is

> "patriarchal capitalism and not capitalist patriarchy.
> ....
> Job segregation by sex is the primary mechanism in capitalist society that maintains the superiority of men over women." (Hartmann 1979 p230; p208)

Delphy (1977; 1981) also argues the prime importance of patriarchy. Firestone (1970) argued that women form a 'class' based on their shared biology, and that the first division of labour was between men and women, with women bearing the children. Socialist feminists have criticised the classic Marxists, broadening their analysis to include class and gender power-relations, and accepting, to some extent, radical feminists' critiques of Marxism. This is to say that capitalism and patriarchy intertwine: each serving the needs of the other.

This construction of 'binary theories' of women's oppression has become a major strand in British white feminism. For instance, Game and Pringle (1984) argue that:

> "the sexual division of labour is not 'functional' to capitalism but, rather, is a defining feature of it, as central as wage labour or surplus value." (p14)

Sylvia Walby and Cynthia Cockburn, mentioned above, are also concerned with developing interweaving gender and class analyses of the labour market. Walby has been a major feminist contributor to gendered labour market studies offering, as above, valuable critiques of Marxist theories of women's labour. The relevance of Cockburn lay in her continued interest in the gender implications of

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36 See also Barrett 1980; 1987; Beechey 1979; Beechey & Whitelegg 1986; Segal 1987.

new technology, and in her exploration of the linkage between male physical power and technology. Their concepts and theories briefly outlined below relate directly to Chapters 5 and 6. (see also Phillips 1987a)

This 'binary' concern with patriarchy and capitalism, gender and class, is itself however, inadequate if it does not also take into account 'race', the imperialistic, colonial aspects of capitalism.[37] (see for instance Walby 1992)[38]

Walby's (1983) early focus is on the identification of patriarchal structures which operate within the labour market.[39] She uses Gidden's (1979) definition of social structure:

> "a property of the social system not of individual actors ... which exist outside of the particular individual who might be carrying them out at any one moment." (Walby 1983 p163)

This allows for the distinction to be made between individual men and the structures of patriarchy. She identifies two such patriarchal structures: firstly, the predominance of women in part-time employment compared with that of men in full-time employment: secondly, occupational segregation. In her later work (Walby 1986; 1988) she continues her focus on occupational segregation. The four main points of her theory of gender segregation are: firstly, the sexual division of labour - inside and outside of the family; secondly, an historical analysis; thirdly, the social struggle in the process of constructing a segmented labour force; fourthly, the intersection of patriarchy and capitalism - the conflicts as well as shared interests. (Walby 1988) This process of conflict and interest is present throughout the *continual* restructuring of the

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[37] There has developed a wide field of black feminist literature: within which are found critiques of white feminism. See for instance, Hooks 1982, 1984, 1987; Phizacklea 1982, 1988; Joseph and Lewis 1981; Amos and Palmer 1984; Carby 1982. For a combined race and gender analysis of the labour market see Bruegel (1989).

[38] For further discussion of the fracturing of feminism and of the differences and commonalities between feminisms see Appendix 1, Note 33.

[39] This is also the focus of Mies (1986).

labour market - historically and spatially. (Walby 1986) She states:

> "Segregation is often the result of the struggle when patriarchal forces have been insufficiently strong to exclude women altogether ... these have often been fought at the level of a particular occupation or industry, which is necessarily spatially located, at moments when there are changes in production. *That is, changes in the organization of capital often precipitate gender struggles over employment in particular occupations, since they both destabilize the old balance of gender forces and create and destroy particular forms of employment.*" (Walby 1986 p88; emphasis is mine)

This research study's concern is with contemporary changes to the organization of capital: those caused by the production and use of new technology and, in the UK, the involvement in the European Community and the Single European Market. (see Chapters 5 and 6)

Whilst the question of occupational gendering is an overriding concern, the particular suggestion outlined by Walby (1988) that there is widening differentiation *between women* is also of relevance for it relates to the study's underlying class analysis of gendering. Walby states that:

> "... women at the top (are) doing better and women at the bottom doing worse. Whilst there does seem to have been some increase in the number of women gaining access to qualifications and jobs in previously heavily male professions, this does not appear to be a process which extends to lower levels of occupations." (Walby 1988 p6)

In her later consideration of postmodernist influences on feminism, (Chapter 3), she reiterates:

> "the need to maintain the use of the structural concepts of patriarchy and capitalism and not to neglect racism." (Walby 1992 p48)

Cockburn's work focuses on the historical process of class and gender construction. She believes the difficulty of the search for a pre-eminent oppressive system lies in

> "trying to mesh together two static structures, two hierarchical systems". (Cockburn 1990 p85)

She concentrates instead on *processes*. Her study of technological change on print compositors identifies fine class distinctions, which she sees as simultaneously maintaining both class and gender exclusions, identifying

> "struggles that contribute to the formation of people within both their class and gender simultaneously." (Cockburn 1990 p85)

These concepts are directly relevant to the analysis of this study developed throughout Chapters 5 and 6.

The base of Cockburn's work, like that of Walby, is the identification of sex segregation within the labour force. She agrees with Harding (1979) that it pre-dates capitalism and, through the evidence of Communist countries, that it post-dates it also. (Cockburn 1988 p32)

As mentioned above, the socialist-feminist position on sex-segregation is that it is maintained firstly through horizontal and vertical (occupational and hierarchical) segregation, and secondly through the social process of gendering. (Cockburn 1988) Firstly, horizontal and vertical segregation. This, Cockburn considers largely the result of the "manoeuvrings of men to evade the incursions of women,": the workplace being a site where two systems of power - class and sex - are worked out.[40] (1988a p32) Secondly, the social process of gendering. This operates alongside, and informs, the segregation process. Of the process of gendering, Cockburn states that gender is different from biological sex; it is dualistic - femininity and masculinity complement each other and at the same time are mutually exclusive of each other: at the same time as people work, they are also constructing a 'culture' around their work: hence the male culture of manual trades or the female culture of textile manufacturing. She also emphasises the 'continual' role of gendering throughout childhood, youth and adulthood, and that this extends from people to many other phenomena. She concludes

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[40] For examples of this see, for instance, Davies (1979), and Armstrong and Armstrong (1988).

that gendering is in fact a "medium of male power." (Cockburn 1988 p37)

The linkage between material and ideological gendering is extended in her later work. (Cockburn 1990) 'Material' gendering includes the economic, the sociopolitical, and the physical. Her focus on the 'physical' is quite distinct to the earlier work of radical feminists such as Firestone. (1970) Cockburn is critical of the Marxist-feminist fears of biological essentialism or determinism, for this she argues, prevented them from considering the 'physical'. She believes a "politics of physical power" is vital, because:

> "Their appropriation of muscle, capability, tools and machinery by men is an important source of women's subordination, indeed it is part of the process by which females are constituted as women." (1990 p88)[41]

Her basic argument (1988a; 1990) is that men design tools and machinery for their use - for their average physical size, weight and capabilities; this makes them easier for men to use and more difficult for women. This is then used by men as an indicator of the skill involved. The relevance of this to the gendering of new technology is developed in Chapter 6.

The importance of this gendered horizontal and vertical segregation is that women - relative to men of the same class, race or educational ability - have been restricted to the 'low-skilled', low-paid, periphery occupations, with little authority or control, as described throughout this section. (see above, and Hartmann 1979) A powerful component of this restriction is the definition and use of the concept of 'skill'. This concept of low-skilled work is itself a 'gendered' one:

> "the work of women is often deemed inferior simply because it is women who do it." (Phillips and Taylor 1980 quoted in Gaskell 1987)

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41 Note 33 considers men's underlying *physical* power, the *threat*, the *fear* of violence, which is seen to cut across class, economic and race subdivides so that men, individually and collectively, maintain their 'superiority' over each and all women. The basis of this understanding is contained in Brownmiller (1975) and Griffin (1979).

Gaskell (1987) concludes her analysis of the gendering of skilled and unskilled work by stating:

> "'Skill' should not be seen as an independent variable, a fixed attribute of a job or a worker which will explain higher wages or unemployment. ...The 'skilled' label ... stands for *a political process in which some workers have more economic power than others.* It is this power that allows them both to make the skilled label stick, and to demand higher wages, limit entry into the job and increase the stability of their employment. ... *This analysis suggests that we should not accept the notion that the only way to become a skilled worker is to do the jobs men do, the way men do them.* .... Even with more programmes designed to move women into what have been male areas of work, we can assume the workplace will remain segregated for a long time." (Gaskell 1987 p279/80; emphasis is mine)

The gendering of 'skill' is also considered by Barrett (1980) and Cockburn (1983, 1988). McDowell (1989), points to a process whereby men's work is firstly 'de-skilled' and secondly - and only then - opened up to women. The linkage of 'skill' with the sex-segregation of the labour market, is integral to the analysis developed through Chapters 5 and 6.[42]

Also of importance for this study is an understanding of the *continual* gendering and *re-gendering* of the labour market. As mentioned above, changes in the organisation of capital cause corresponding changes in occupational gendering - a major instrument of such being technology. At one end of the continuum of response is the strengthening of segregation shown by Cockburn (1990) in her study of print compositors.

At the other end of the continuum the response can be a complete reversal of the existing gendering. Hartmann (1979) details two such responses to the technological impact of the British industrial revolution. Both cases: weavers and spinners, resulted in a complete re-gendering. From 'self-employed' skilled male weavers working in their own homes, industrialisation brought factory-based looms. The factory-owners no longer needed to pay the high wages

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[42] The direct linkage of 'skill' with the construct of 'femininity' is considered in Note 5.

previously commanded by the scarcity value of the male weavers. Women replaced the men as the weavers in the new factories. The gendered reversal of spinning was the other way around. The women 'jenny'-spinners were replaced by men 'mule'-spinners. The new 'mule-spinner' was more technological than the 'jenny' and spinning became a 'high-skilled' male occupation - subsequently closed to women. The technology of the industrial revolution changed the scarcity value of the labour required. In weaving, the scarcity value and the 'skill' decreased: weaving became a female occupation. In spinning, the scarcity value and the 'skill' increased: spinning became a male occupation.

Cockburn (1990) considers the way capital uses technology to raise production whilst decreasing its reliance on labour. She concludes:

> "until we recognize what capital is taking away from some men as workers, we cannot predict the strategies by which they may seek to protect their positions as men. As one technology fails them will they seek to establish a power base in another ? Will they eventually abandon the de-skilled manual work to women, recreating the job segregation that serves male dominance ? Or will the intrinsic interdependency of keyboard and computer force a re-gendering of 'typing' so that it is no longer portrayed as female ?" (Cockburn 1990 p99)

Such questions underpin this entire study. Other feminists raising similar questions include Hartmann (1979), and Game and Pringle (1984).

Hartmann (1979) in pointing out that "male capitalists (are) capable of overpowering male workers" when necessary, provides a reminder of the class based need for labour representation and protection: that is the Trade Unions. However, Trade Unions in their representation of working-class labour have, historically, primarily represented the interests of the male working-class, protecting their jobs, wages and working conditions against what they have often seen as their infringement by women. They have historically, consistently strengthened the gender division of labour - both waged and

domestic.[43] The growth of Trade Unions through the early craft Guilds, were formed around skills which had some kind of *scarcity value*. (Hartmann 1979; Game and Pringle 1984). Most of these were male ones. A female exception was millinery. Most other female skills such as those connected with food production or the manufacture of clothing were considered to be ones which all women shared: they had no scarcity value.

Where Trade Unions have represented women it has been for

> "*protective legislation* not organisation (and which therefore) effectively confirmed women's 'alien' status as a worker." (Hartmann 1979 p228)

Whilst ostensibly 'protecting' women from, for instance, the rigours of nightwork, the actual Trade Union protection of men's position meant that women were being effectively prevented from the possibility of earning higher wages, of learning certain skills, and of possible subsequent promotion. Walby (1986) argues that Trade Unions have been an important part of the patriarchal structure. Pollert (1983), in her study of working-class women workers in a Bristol tobacco factory, shows the women needing separate representation but, lacking anyone with the knowledge or ability to "start it off", they are diverted to representation on the factory 'council' - a 'talk-shop' where all they can do is "ask the management". Ellis, (1988), considers the more recent moves within Trade Unions to attract women workers and to implement equal opportunities policies. However, vertical (hierarchical) segregation remains, in the early nineties, clearly identifiable within the Unions themselves.

Main points on the Labour Market.

This section showed the major labour market trends: decline in manual skills; rise in new technology production and use; persistent rise in unemployment. The effects were seen in both industrial and occupational changes: the focus being on occupations relevant to this study. A review of labour market research centred firstly on

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[43] This understanding can be located in the following texts: Walby 1983; 1986; Hartmann 1976; Phillips 1987a; Gaskell 1987; Witz 1988; Mark-Lawson 1988.

class analyses based on the concepts of power and struggle; and secondly on gender analyses. The gendering of the labour market was evidenced through analyses of occupational and hierarchical sex segregation; gender differentiated rates of pay and hours and conditions of work; and the political process of valuing 'male' skills whilst devaluing 'female' skills. Feminist analyses of the labour market were considered, reflecting both the Marxist influence and counter-critiques - especially those focusing on the *processes* by which the labour market is continually gendered and regendered. The theories found most useful to this study are those constructed from the analysis of the continual interweaving of the concerns, interests, and resulting oppressions of capitalism and patriarchy, yet which, at the same time, also take into account the effects of class, and race, on and between women: there are some women who are considerably better paid in the labour market than some men, and many women who are considerably better paid than many other women (especially white women over black women, or able-bodied over disabled). However, it remains the case that women overall, throughout the EC, are in lower-paid, apparently lower-skilled, basically inferior positions to the men of their own class, race and educational background. The final point of interest is the occupational regendering which is indicated during periods of crisis and change within the system of capitalism - particularly within the process of production. The late twentieth century impact of new technology upon production presents just such a major period of crisis within the capitalist system.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING.

Unlike the previous two sections of this Chapter, this section relies on secondary sources concerned with vocational training, particularly, a gendered and class analysis of it. The consideration of EC training policy places the section's concentration on the UK into its European framework. The aim of this section is to provide a review of the literature and

concepts necessary for the analysis of EC vocational training policies and implementation contained in Chapters 5 and 6.

Development of EC vocational training policy.

The roots of EC vocational training policy are economic: encouraging mobility of labour and responding to the needs of the labour market.[44] Although the focus of this study is on one section of the ESF, the ESF in its entirety is, as indicated above, only one part of the total EC funded training programme. Preston (1991) provides a summary of the other EC training programmes in operation. The EC 'European' (1975) published an early forewarning of the likely impact of new technology; advocating training which would broaden workers' knowledge of the industry in which they worked, and develop their technology skills: an early reference to 'flexible technologically skilled workers'.

In 1976 a Report from a *European Seminar on the Vocational Guidance and Training for Women Workers* referred to the 'right' to vocational training and guidance, stressing that women also have that 'right', that they should be informed of it, and have unhindered access to it, and that special efforts must be made to ensure that they do. This is one of the first EC references specifically concerned with women and vocational training.

Subsequent to this, the EC, throughout its policy statements, funding objectives, and subsequent reports, has stressed the need for vocational training to be specifically aimed at women, and that the structure of the training project be aware of, and respond to, the particular needs of women. In response to this, many courses for women now run during school hours, in school terms, and provide creche or childminding facilities. (see for instance, EC 1987d; EC 1987e)

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44 This is detailed in the following texts: EC 'European' 1975; EC 1976; Funnell & Müller 1991; Neave 1991.

This right to vocational training is

> "recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights and the European Social Charter. The latter two imposing binding international legal obligations on contracting parties, including the United Kingdom." (House of Lords 1990 p13)

The current controversial Community Social Charter contained within the Maastricht Treaty, declared that:

> "Every worker of the European Community must be able to have access to vocational training and receive such training throughout his (sic) working life. This Charter was not signed by the United Kingdom, alone among Community Member States." (House of Lords 1990 p13)

An historical analysis of the development of EC vocational training policy is provided by Neave (1991). He believes that this policy can be distinguished by three clear stages which are directly related to labour market needs. The first, up to 1978, concentrated on 'stocking-up skills' for industry, whilst at the same time soaking-up youth unemployment, which was considered a short-term problem. The second, 1978-83, was part of a broader attempt to generally increase the coordination between education and employment creation. The third, 1983-88, was the development of a "medium-term plan *to accelerate the changeover to a new industrial base.*" (Neave 1991 p371; emphasis is mine) Vocational training has been firmly 'locked in' with schools and universities. Although the first stage is necessary to an understanding of the developments, the second and third stages are those which relate directly to this research project.

The British historical divide between liberal education and vocational training (see below), is mirrored in the development of EC vocational training policy. Neave (1991) describes vocational issues as being originally split between two separate Directorates within the Community: Directorate General V for Social Affairs, (DG V), and Directorate General XII for Education, Research and Science, (DG XII). DG V took a traditional perspective, concerning itself with school leavers moving to full-time employment, and its main

response was one of apprenticeship schemes. DG XII refused to see education as separate from training and argued that vocational training should be integrated into the education system.

Neave says that on the surface the disagreements between the two Directorates were about "focus and goals", but the underlying tension centred on the perceived ancillary position of one Directorate to the other. However, despite any differences, they shared a common assumption that youth unemployment was merely temporary and they both made short term responses to what they perceived as a short term problem. This situation remained until 1978, when it became apparent that unemployment, (including youth unemployment), was "no longer transient, but structural," and consequently the Directorates' definition of the 'unemployed' being the 'disadvantaged and marginal groups' broadened out. (Neave 1991 p364) The policy no longer saw vocational training as 'stocking-up' skills, but "as an active instrument for generating new skills and, no less important, new employment." (Neave 1991 p365)

This change to an 'alternance' training model (that is, one which sees work experience as a central feature), brought the policies of DG V and DG XII much closer together and in 1981 resulted in DG V having responsibility for Social Affairs, Employment and Education.[45]

The impact of these changes was felt on three levels. Firstly, the political: in June 1983 Ministers from Education and Employment met for the first time - and agreed policies for a five-year training programme. Secondly, the technical: vocational training was redefined to include social skills, and was integrated into a concept of permanent education. Thirdly, the administrative: local and regional authorities were encouraged similarly to coordinate education, vocational training, employment and social services. This 'lateral policy coordination' (the linking of different administrative areas) allows for both 'vertical' policy coordination

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45 Preston (1991 p28) provides details of the entire 23 Directorate Generals within the European Commission.

(expansion into different age groups), and for integrated responses to particular labour market needs: for instance, the impact of new technology. Neave has articulated the very important structural and policy changes taking place within the EC just prior to the start of the training focused on in this research case study, which ran during the years of the five-year training programme mentioned above.

Development of UK training policy: late nineteenth century - 1979.

Within Britain, the division between education and vocational training has its roots in the nineteenth century. Sanderson (1988) provides an historical overview of the linkage between technical education and economic decline. An understanding of the British development of vocational training is extremely relevant to this study because its structures and processes are ridden with class and gender assumptions. Shilling (1989) identifies three stages of vocational education in Britain. Firstly, the 'entrepreneurial' stage: from the end of the nineteenth century until the first world war. Secondly, the 'collective' stage, spanning the inter-war period, and thirdly, the 'corporate' stage, beginning at the end of the second world war. A brief consideration of these stages highlights the ongoing tight linkage between the needs of the economy and the changing responses of vocational training policies to meet those needs.

The 'entrepreneurial' stage focused on the 'Empire's' demand for general literacy and numeracy and the need to create a

> "willing and compliant labour force and a stable context for capital accumulation .... (along with an) aristocratic concern that education should 'teach people their place'." (Shilling 1989 p13/15)

Echoes of these concerns are heard in 'new vocationalism' with its emphasis on the 'social relations', relevant attitudes for work, and the late twentieth century need for computer/technology literacy. However, what little vocational training existed during the entrepreneurial stage, existed for *men*, and was provided by evening

schools and mechanics institutes. (see also Robinson 1986) At this time, the minute amount of vocational training for women was simply that "connected with domestic science." (Blunden 1983, quoted in Wickham 1986 p86) The Junior Technical Schools, started at the beginning of this century, provided a two-year course in technical and vocational training for 13 year-old *boys* only. British vocational training has, from the beginning, been targeted on working-class men and boys.

During the 'collective' stage it was again left to the state to initiate any important technical and vocational developments. During these inter-war years increasingly large numbers of working class children qualified for free secondary places but the schools were not able to take them. At the same time, the Government became afraid of the possible unrest which might be caused by the growing unemployed of the 'depression'; the least they could do was 'occupy' the young by absorbing them into the education system. (Shilling 1989) This concern reverberates with the Government's concentration throughout the eighties on vocational training for school-leavers, as well as with the earlier rising of the school-leaving age. (1972/3)

Shilling describes the post-1945 'corporate' stage as one in which industry became increasingly involved with vocational training, education and higher education. The post-war promises included free secondary education for all British children, and the tripartite system of grammar schools, secondary-modern schools and technical schools was designed to meet the labour needs of the economy. Its subsequent failure to do so led to the rapid decline of technical schools which were seen as the lowest level of state education. The resulting comprehensive schools attempted to cater for all. During this period the Carr Report: *Training for Skill* (1958) looked at the training of young people for industry. This Report was overwhelmingly concerned with young *men*; one small section dealt with opportunities for girls. Wickham (1986) shows this small

reference as also being class based. The assumption was that working-class girls did not need training - for they would marry.

> "Where concern about women was expressed it focused upon the academically above-average grammar school girl who might be expected to make a more sustained contribution to the labour force." (Wickham 1986 p20/1)[46]

This class differential remains evident in contemporary vocational training of women and, with contemporary (post 1950s) complications of race and ethnicity, is a major concern of this study.

In 1976, the Prime Minister, James Callaghan, made a key speech at Ruskin College, Oxford. This is generally taken as the starting point for many subsequent changes in British education and training. The speech started the 'Great Education Debate'; one of the main concerns being that education could not be disconnected from economic or industrial needs.[47] The general election of 1979, brought in the Thatcher Conservative Government, and they translated the Debate into their own ideological framework of free-market-economy and enterprise. A Labour government would probably have made different policy decisions. Brown and Scase believe the Thatcher Government pursued policies "strikingly different to those of all previous post-war governments", for they replaced the "corporatist assumptions" which all previous governments, including previous Conservative governments, had shared. (1991 p2) Training now developed not as an adjunct to education, but from policies concerned with man-(sic) power planning and market needs. This 'Thatcher'-government period of training is generally referred to as 'new vocationalism'. Supporting this strengthening of the link with industry and market needs was the growing dissatisfaction with the comprehensive system and the realization that the dominant academic curriculum had little to offer lower-ability working-class pupils. (see Finn 1987) The training focused on in this study is itself a part of 'new vocationalism', a consideration of which can be found in Note 4.

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46 See below for an historical gender analysis of education. See also Purvis 1980, 1981a, and 1981b.

47 For a discussion of the importance of this speech see Pring 1991; Shilling 1989; Benn & Fairley 1986; Ainley 1990.

There is a wealth of recent research on the gender, class and race effects of the British state education system: its curriculum, processes and structures; the hidden curriculum and teacher expectations of pupils; pupils' accommodation or resistance; and the consideration of masculinity, femininity and heterosexuality: together, these have formed the bedrock upon which similar analyses of school-work transition, and adult unemployment and vocational training, can be located. An indication of the field of study beneath the surface of this research can be located in Appendix 1, Note 6.

UK training policy from 1980.

The Thatcher Government policy extended this vocational training/industry linkage into school education. (Young 1987) A crucial structure in the development of 'new vocationalism' was the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) which, created by the Heath Conservative Government through the Employment and Training Act 1973, was formally launched on 1st January 1974. Its powers and influence on many areas of education and training, over the next 14 years, until its disbandment were, Finn (1987) argues, unprecedented. The MSC provided the Government with the means to "effectively - if indirectly - control training and any unemployment measures it chose to introduce." (Finn 1987 p109) Although not quite separate enough from the Government to be a fully-fledged quango, it nevertheless fulfilled the particular quango-like function of being a distancing mechanism between the Government's policies and their effects: essentially a buffer.

In May 1985 Lord Young, then Chairman of the powerful MSC, and later Secretary of State for Employment, referred to the aim of vocational *education* as being the breaking down of "*artificial* distinctions between education and training." Employers were to go into schools and "directly shape the content of courses". (quoted in Pring 1991 216) This was a crucial move behind the growth of 'new vocationalism'. There were numerous Government initiatives ranging from primary education to adult - both within higher education and

with the adult unemployed, all of which were intended to strengthen the link between industry, The City and education. The Technical and Vocational Training Initiative (TVEI) was one of these.[48] Through the participating local authorities, the Government began to use the power of funding as a means for centralising control of the curriculum. (Walford et al 1988; Finn 1987; Young 1987) Increasingly, funding was taken away from the Local Educational Authorities' (LEA) general education budget and placed instead in the hands of the MSC. Other national in-school initiatives included the Lower Attaining Pupils Programme (LAPP), Records of Achievement and the TVEI-related in-service training scheme (TRIST). All required the LEA to 'sign a contract' with the Government department or agency: Department of Education and Science (DES) or the MSC. (Burchell 1989) A similar incursion was being made into the Further Education sector (FE). In 1984 a quarter of all money spent in FE came via the MSC, and Ainley (1990) points out that at one time it seemed as though the MSC would financially control all 'non-advanced' Further Education.

A year later, 1986, Lord Young blamed education for the country's economic problems. He stated that education had

> "little contact and no regard for industry, .. (and that teachers) looked down on scientific and technical subjects and .. disdained vocational preparation." (quoted in Coffield 1991 p249)

This is essentially the same complaint as that identified in the mid nineteenth century. The Government continued to blame education, this time for the high levels of youth unemployment. Education was accused of not adequately preparing young people for the adult world of work. The Government's response to rising unemployment was the introduction of various training schemes "aimed at moderating the impact of unemployment on young people in particular." (EC 1987c p35; also EC 1985e) These schemes, originally seen as short-term, have, with continued rising unemployment, become a permanent feature

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[48] A government policy statement on TVEI was published in April 1985 (CMND 9482). A further understanding and critique of TVEI and its relationship to new vocationalism can be located in the following texts: Gleeson 1987; James & Young 1989; Millman 1985, 1989; Pollard et al 1988; Weiner 1985a.

of the labour market. Coffield points out that this resulted, during the early 1980s, in the "most highly trained dole queues in the world." (1991 p263) This 'new vocationalism' was the Government's answer to long-term youth unemployment.

Coffield's (1991) study of British training policy through the eighties indicates a superficial synthesis of education-vocational training policy, similar to that of the EC, whilst at the same time, he points to an underlying antithesis of this, evident in the lack of coordination and communication between the Department of Education the Department of Employment and the Training Agency, (TA). The 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) increased the powers of the Secretary of State for Education.[49] Within six months, the Department of Employment, through TECs, was decentralising training. Coffield gives an example of this lack of coordination: the Department of Education established the Certificate for Pre-Vocational Education (CPVE) in July 1984

> "to counteract the march stolen on them when the MSC (answerable to the Department of Employment) set up TVEI in November 1982." (1991 p269)

He summarizes the UK Education-Training-Employment (ETE) policy as one of increased centralization of education; the complete relinquishing of control over training; and a complete lack of policy regarding employment.[50] The questions which this observation provokes are nonetheless outside the parameters of this thesis. However, it is clear that this UK ETE policy is in direct contrast to that indicated by the EC merger of ETE within Directorate-General V.

The MSC, abolished in 1988, was replaced by the Training Commission, whose criticisms regarding the poor quantity and quality of British Training, were accepted by the Government in their White Paper: *Employment for the 1990s*. The House of Lords Select Committee on

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[49] For instance this Act enabled the Government imposed National Curriculum and the new state financed City Technology Colleges (CTC). CTCs are considered further in Note 3.
[50] For further exploration of the educational response to the concept of ETE see Esland 1991.

the European Communities (1990 p9), refers to three major aspects of the White Paper. Firstly, the need for radical reform of the training system which would require a coherent national and local framework linked with industry. Secondly, that the Training Agency, a subsection of the Department of Employment, would replace the Training Commission as the national training authority. Thirdly, that local Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) be set up "to be responsible for planning, promoting and delivering training at a local level." (House of Lords 1990 p10; see also Ainley 1990)

The first TECs were launched in March 1989, becoming fully responsible from April 1990. Coffield (1991) argues that the significance of the TECs is that

> "the training of young people, of the unemployed and all those in employment has been handed over to bodies controlled by industrialists." (p261; see also Robinson 1986)

This is emphasised by the make-up of each board, of which two thirds must be senior managers of national or major companies.[51] Coffield believes the remainder would consist of

> "few, if any, directors of small businesses, and only token representation from trade unions, education, local government or voluntary organizations." (p264)

Furthermore, performance-related-funding ensures that the TECs will be accountable to the Training Agency and central government, not the local community. Ainley (1990) in his study of vocational education and training, is also critical of such high business involvement for "employers have never taken responsibility for training in the past." (Ainley 1990 p41; also see above) The implication of TECs and their annual training budget of £3 billion, is that there is no longer any "attempt to create a coherent national training scheme". (Ainley 1990 p122) An indication of the importance of this is provided by the following two Reports.

Firstly, the Training Agency's *Training in Britain* (1989). This reports that in 1988 one in three people of working age had no

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51 The vast majority would therefore be white able-bodied men - see labour market analyses of Chapter 6.

qualifications; a third of people aged 19-34, and half of those aged over 35, could not foresee "the circumstances which would lead them to undertake education or training." (p53) The second Report is that of the House of Lords (1990), which discusses the identified British 'skills gap'. They say:

> "The CBI's Task Force found that the United Kingdom's workforce is 'under-educated, under-trained and under-qualified'. Nearly half of Britain's employees have no qualification to GCE 'O' level. In France, 35% of school leavers reach university entrance standard, as do 30% of school leavers in Germany, compared with only 15% in the UK. Whilst British children on average achieve fewer and lower level educational qualifications than is the case for most Member States, British adults on average achieve fewer vocational qualifications, at a lower level, than is the case with Britain's main trading competitors. Seven out of ten of the British population left school at the minimum school leaving age, seven out of ten had only the shortest training for the immediate job when they started work and seven out of ten have had virtually no training ever since. In 1989 a third of the British workforce had no training whatsoever at any stage of its working life." (House of Lords 1990 p12)

The above paragraph from the House of Lords Report (1990) is quoted in full because firstly, it is a clear indictment of Britain's compulsory educational system and post-school training opportunities; secondly, low-education often leads to low-skilled, low-paid, insecure jobs, unemployment, or casual 'fringe economy' work; and thirdly, women who fall into this low-educated, barely trained category, are those targeted for the ESF vocational training schemes forming the focus of this study.

New vocationalism.

Finn (1987) stresses the political and ideological underpinning of 'new vocationalism': an equally important motive as that of the technical and labour needs of the market. This ensured that the "political crisis of youth unemployment was transformed into an *educational* crisis." (Finn 1987 p117; see also Pollard et al 1988) Training replaced paid work, and importantly, the authority of hierarchical *social relations* of work. (see Walford et al 1988)

Holland (1988) also stresses the existence of an "ideological message enshrined in new vocationalism" which, in blaming unemployment on an individual's own supposed lack of skill and inadequate work attitude, leads to lowered expectations, and I would add, lack of political analysis.[52] The Youth Training Scheme (YTS), for example, explicitly forbade the discussion of social and political issues - including Trade Unionism. (see Benn & Fairley 1986) This class and ability bias within 'new vocationalism', aimed as it was at the lower two-thirds of the ability range, shows a clear gender and race bias as well.[53]

This class, gender and race analysis of vocational training is itself directly related to the wide field of literature concerned with the class, gender and race bias of education.[54] As a response to the growth of youth (un)employment training, and to the increased involvement of Government in vocational *education*, a field of study has developed which firstly considered the school-work transition, and secondly has developed into a concern with the entire concept of education, training and employment, (ETE). Much of this has focused on the identification of a central aim of vocational training and education as being

> "the identification and subsequent stamping of certain types of student with a certain status and identity", which clearly operates within a gender, race and class matrix. (Feinberg & Horowitz 1990 p189) [55]

There are two aspects of new vocationalism which are of particular interest: 'enterprise culture' and 'equal opportunities'. Firstly, 'enterprise culture'. Coffield (1991) points out that 'enterprise' remains without agreed definition although certain more general

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[52] See also Ainley 1990; Buswell 1988; and Hollands 1990.
[53] See for instance, Marsh 1986; Cockburn 1987; Hollands 1990; Brah 1986. A further discussion centring on the class, race and gender bias within MSC training schemes: youth school-work transition training, and adult training, can be found in Note 4.
[54] See Note 6.
[55] This discussion on the ideological underpinning of vocational education and training can be found in the following texts: Benn & Fairley 1986; Wallace 1986; Cockburn 1987; Finn 1987; Millman & Weiner 1987; Buswell 1988; Shilling 1989; Ainley 1990; Hollands 1990, Willis 1977 and Weiner 1989, 1990a.

aspects are shared, and these commonly point towards adaptability, initiative, creativity and flexibility, and self-responsibility. (p155) Essentially, 'enterprise' skills relate extremely well to the basic requirements for a flexible adaptive labour force. Brown and Scase link the development of the 'enterprise' culture with a corresponding development of a 'dependency' culture - one which 'blames the victim'. The 'right-wing' argument is, they say, "to end the culture of dependence by generating a culture of enterprise." (1991 p10) The spread of 'enterprise' is considerable. Coffield details twelve different initiatives. (see Note 7) A further government training initiative, not actually included specifically under enterprise training, is ET (Employment Training), set up in 1988 to provide training for long term unemployed 'adults'. (see Note 4)

Secondly, 'equal opportunities'. New vocationalism is wrapped in the language of 'equal opportunities', the interests of equality of access overlaps with the labour market's need for a 'flexible' labour force. (see above and also McCulloch 1987; Finn 1987) Equal opportunities are often embodied, as a funding requirement, in the policies of both the DES and MSC/TA. For instance, in 1984 the MSC stressed that TVEI

> "should be available to young people of both sexes (and that furthermore) care should be taken to avoid sex-stereotyping". (MSC 1984)

However, as Note 4 shows, the impact of the MSC's equal opportunities policy throughout the range of its provision has been negligible.

Wickham (1986) is hopeful that the MSC, through its financial power and contract compliance, will advance equal opportunities more than the SDA. Such positive discrimination is allowed under Section 47 of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. However, as the Women's National Commission (WNC) Report on *Training Opportunities for Women* (1984) makes clear, the extent of this financial power, whilst seemingly large to the recipients, is in fact a minuscule part of

the entire MSC budget. This Report refers to the MSC's 'Special Groups Unit' of the Training Division which existed to:

> "improve the training of five 'Special Groups': *women*, ethnic minorities and the disabled, ex-offenders, and ex-forces personnel re-adjusting to civilian life. *The total annual budget for the Unit is under 1% of MSC's annual expenditure.*" (WNC 1984 p41, emphasis is mine).

They further state that the MSC funds are "strictly limited and used on a *pump-priming* basis." (p112, emphasis is mine) This, throughout the 1980s was also true of the ESF. This combined lack of long-term financial commitment to the training of women clearly must have an effect on the long-term planning and development of courses. (see Chapter 5) The tight linkage between contemporary vocational training for women, and the philosophy and policies of equal opportunities, evident in EC policy as well as UK, is central to this thesis.

Weiner (1990a) also considers that a link between equal opportunities and new vocationalism is the labour market's need for a 'flexible workforce' - (see above), for an undifferentiated 'flexible' workforce would be able to respond to future economic or technological changes. (see also Walby 1988; Beechey & Perkins 1987; Hakim 1987) This is essentially the same argument as that used by the EC in both the Treaty of Rome and the subsequent Directive on Vocation Training. The contemporary meaning of 'flexible labour force', and that used throughout this study, relates to the 'demands' of the labour market for a less rigid workforce - both in terms of occupation, skills, working hours, conditions and rates of pay: not the 'reserve army' interpretation of Mincer (1962, 1966), or Beechey (1977, 1978). Weiner (1990a), believes such an 'equal opportunities' approach to new vocationalism is likely to economically benefit both the state and the individual. However, the "increased pool of technologists, science teachers and market executives" (p27) referred to, seems to exist only for those middle-class academically-achieving white girls and women who have recently been encouraged into areas of science, technology and

engineering.[56] This is an example of class, and race, segmenting gender.

Vocational training for women.

There is very little literature dealing specifically with women's vocational training.[57] What is available on women, tends to relate to women's return to education rather than vocational training. In particular it refers to either the 'New Opportunities for Women' (NOW) courses and their variants, for example Aird et al (1980); or to the MSC's 'Wider Opportunities for Women' (WOW) courses, for example Fairbairns (1979). In general these courses attract better-educated and essentially more middle-class women than those under-educated, white and black working-class women recruited to the ESF funded training schemes such as that focused on in this research project. (see for instance, FEU 1989)

The other area of interest is the vocational education of more highly educated women: the focus being on promotion, professional advancement, and breaking through the 'glass ceiling'. There is however, an almost complete dearth of literature relating to the vocational training of working class long-term unemployed women, to whom the concept of a 'glass ceiling' is totally inappropriate. The significance of this lack of class analysis of women's vocational education and training is evident throughout this study.

The gender, class and race basis and bias of education provides an understanding of the significance of the class bias of vocational training for its roots are in education. (see above) Purvis (1981a, 1981b), provides an historical analysis of women's and girls *education*. In her account of the development of separate education - with its domestic emphasis - she shows the divisions of class honing the specifics of the gendered domestic skills. The concept of the gendering of 'skill', central to this study, is developed throughout Chapters 4 to 6. Linked to this process of gendering is

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56 See for instance, Cockburn 1986; Benn & Fairley 1986; Finn 1987; Breakwell & Weinberger 1987; Holland 1988; Hollands 1990.
57 For instance, Wickham 1986; Blunden 1983, 1984.

the construct of 'femininity'. The concepts and the processes involved in this construction are considered in Note 5. The 'ideals' of femininity, and in particular the focus on domestic skills, ensured that white girls were adequately educated (sic) for their future 'domestic' role and their relative class position one to the other: middle-class 'perfect wife and mother', or working-class 'good woman'. This class bias of practical domestic skills reflected, (and still reflects) the dual labour role of white working-class women. Bryan et al (1985), locate the contemporary 'triple oppression' of black women in its historical context and show how, during the twentieth century, this domestic ideology has been racially refined to ensure that black girls also acquire the domestic skills of white working-class girls.[58] The importance of this, here, is that the vocational training offered to unemployed working-class women in this study contradicts the feminine discourse of domestic training.

However, to assume that girls passively accept this domestic discourse as part of the sex-role stereotype is simplistic and ignores McRobbie's (1978; 1980) work on the white working-class culture of (heterosexual) femininity, which in a similar finding to that of Willis (1977), shows how young white working-class girls themselves reinforce their femininity whilst also being aware of its restrictions.[59] It also ignores Anyon's (1983) gender adaptation of the theory of simultaneous accommodation and resistance. However, Wright (1987) argues that this culture of femininity is a 'white' concept and does not relate to black girls who reject expected white notions of femininity, and who, by doing so, are subsequently pathologically labelled antagonistic and aggressive. Anyon (1983) points to girls' responses to the

> "contradictions and oppressions (through the) dialectic of accommodation and resistance (in which they) neither totally acquiesce in, nor totally eschew, the imperatives of femininity." (Anyon 1983 p19)

Chapter 4 shows a similar dialectical relationship existing between the funders (EC and LA) and the women (workers and trainees).

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[58] See also Fuller 1980, 1982.
[59] See also Hollands 1990 and Sherrat 1983.

There has developed, through the 1980s, the tentative beginnings of a field of literature relating to the vocational training and return-to-education of women. There are two, often overlapping, aspects to this. The first are essentially 'good practice' guides.[60] Echoing similar EC Reports and documents, they stress the need for courses to be run during school terms, within school hours, and with good 'counselling and guidance' imput. Some of the general 'guideline' literature on training, especially on training long-term unemployed people has also fed into these particular aspects of women's training. (For instance DE 1987; SAUS 1985)

The second are the explorations of the broad 'political' underpinning of such courses and their linked concern with the construction of feminist epistemologies.[61] The emphasis of this feminist literature is on the importance of the specific experience and knowledge of women as opposed to 'main/malestream' knowledge, and has its roots in the 'personal is political' slogan of the Womens Liberation Movement (circa late 1970s).[62] The feminist epistemological underpinning of women's vocational training is considered in the case study analysis of Chapter 4. The academic concept of feminist epistemologies is discussed in Chapter 3.

Main points on Vocational Training.

This section, concentrating on vocational training has located itself firmly in the growing study of education-training-employment, emphasising the relationship between vocational training policies, the economy and consistently rising unemployment. The consideration of the development of EC policy shows, initially, a split between training and education similar to that which, from the nineteenth century, developed in Britain. However, there are marked differences between the synthesis of EC policy and the seemingly contrary interventionist policies of the UK: firstly increasing their influence on vocational education and training through the

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[60] See for instance, the Replan conference papers 1990; Replan conference papers 1986; Replan 1987; FEU 1989; MSC 1982; NIACE 1991.
[61] See for instance, Hughes and Kennedy 1985; Keddie 1980; Thompson 1980, 1983; Taking Liberties Collective 1989.
[62] See for instance Stanley & Wise 1983.

MSC, and then apparently relinquishing it to the TECs. At the same time control of the education curriculum has been strengthened. Many theorists considered 'new vocationalism' to have definite political-ideological undertones: firstly in blaming both unemployment and the 'state of the economy' on education, and secondly, on the class-gender-race based 'labelling' and 'labour locating' process of the trainees, the analyses of which are directly related to class, gender and race analyses of education. Aspects of new vocationalism, such as enterprise culture and equal opportunities, were seen to form a direct link with the labour market's need for a flexible, potentially mobile, workforce. Finally, the section on the vocational training of women identified three fields of study: return to work/education; vocational higher education; and vocational training. There is a general scarcity of literature in this area, and in particular there is a lack of class, and race, analysis. The literature available on the vocational training of *adult* women - as opposed to youth school-work transition studies - is extremely scant.

Conclusion.

As stated in the introduction, this Chapter did not intend to give a full literature review of each section, but in providing an understanding of the fields of literature in which the study is grounded, to point to the main relevant concepts and the most influential work. The following are the main themes which form the foundation of this study and continue as part of the forthcoming analysis.

Firstly, that vocational training has an historical class and gender base, and bias, and which increasingly intersected by race and ethnicity, responds to the needs of the labour market. Secondly, that women within the UK (and EC) labour market have historically, currently, and consistently, been concentrated in low paid, 'low-skilled' jobs: horizontally and vertically (occupationally and hierarchically) segregated. Thirdly, that this process of gendering and regendering of the labour market is continuous, and drastic

changes can occur as a result of changes in the processes of production and in the capitalist system. Fourthly, that neither equality legislation nor the practice of equal opportunities has seriously affected the occupational gendering process or result. And finally, underpinning all of these themes, is the European Community's prime intention of creating a free-market economy which can compete with Japan and the USA, and which demands a flexible and mobile labour force.

Two concepts, clearly present in each of these sections, and continuing throughout the thesis, are returned to in Chapter 7. They are firstly, the stress on the 'free market forces' of the capitalist economy; and secondly, that of 'equal opportunities' which encapsulates the liberal-democratic emphasis on the 'rights of all individuals'.[63]

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[63] Reference is made throughout this study to the 'discourse' of equal opportunities. The use of the term 'discourse' refers to the focus on language and text to represent a particular idea. There are three main points to be made about 'discourse' in general. The first is that a discourse is not static but is capable of change over time, and being so reflects, and is of, that time. The sub-point to this is that the same basic discourse can at varying times be in contradiction to itself at another time. The second point is that individual discourses can be in conflict with each other. And finally, the third point is that made by Foucault, that some discourses can be seen as 'dominant' and some as 'reverse'. However, crucially, these 'reverse' discourses are automatically marginalized by the dominant ones. These points are explored in greater depth in Note 8 and in Note 33. These general points regarding discourse are used in the analysis, throughout this study, of the linkage between the particular discourse of equal opportunities and that of the ESF funding policies.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY.

Introduction.

This Chapter focuses on the theoretical principles upon which this research is based. It defines the ontological positioning of the researcher, and the subsequent relationship to epistemology, and the methodological choices made.[1] The latter part of the Chapter relates this theoretical base to the sequential development of the research process itself: the research design, methods and analysis.

The theoretical location of this research is that of western feminist theory. This is not an unproblematic statement, for western feminism contains within it many differing shades, distinctions and even contradictions which are considered more fully below. However, the feminist theoretical base of this research is that which is based on a gendered, race and class analysis of the interwoven structures and processes of capitalism and patriarchy: this being essentially the broad position of a socialist feminist perspective.

As is made clear in the 'ontological positioning' section below, this is the theoretical framework from which the impetus to undertake the research came, and from which the initial questions and research design originated.

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[1] In a development of his earlier work, (Guba & Linkoln 1982), Gubba (1990), provides a useful model of these the three fundamental research questions which he says should inform any research project.

However, whilst this is undisputedly the theoretical base of the thesis, there are nevertheless certain key aspects of contemporary feminism which overlap with particular concepts found within postmodernist and/or poststructuralist texts. The construct of feminist theories throughout the 1980s is characterised by fracturing and multi-subjectivity, by the significance of 'voice', and by a questioning of 'truth' and 'constructs of knowledge', all of which reverberate with similar ideas from theorists defining themselves as 'postmodernist'. The identification of particular theorists is not as clear and unproblematic as the above paragraph would otherwise indicate. For instance, many feminist theorists, (and activists), are increasingly difficult to define as simply 'radical' or 'socialist', or even of prioritising gender over race or class.[2] Similarly, the non-feminist theorist most referred to in this study, Michel Foucault, is linked both to aspects of postmodernism and to poststructuralism. These particular points of interjunction of feminism with other key theoretical discourses is made clear within the Chapter and where that occurs, that particular aspect, of for instance postmodernism, is discussed more fully at that point.

Ontological positioning of the researcher.

The aim of this section is to subjectively define myself as the individual researcher and to consider the pertinent assumptions made regarding the nature of 'reality', for these assumptions are rooted in my experience and understanding of the world: those subjectivities given by birth into a particular time, place and social setting, and those taken either as choice or as a consequence of other life events.

The importance of the consideration of the subjectivities of the researcher is located within feminist theorists.[3] This knowledge

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[2] Further insight into this debate can be gathered from the following texts: Phillips 1987a, 1987b; Segal 1987; Sargent 1981; Hamilton & Barrett 1986; Harding 1981.

[3] This understanding can be located in the following texts: Gunew 1990; Stanley 1990a; Stanley & Wise 1990; Maynard 1990; Mies 1983, 1990; Kremer 1990; Lather 1988; Smith 1988a, 1988b; Duelli-Klein 1983.

enables the reader to locate the researcher within the text. The following details are provided in order to assist just such a reading of this thesis. I am a white woman born into the western predominantly Christian and heterosexual world. My background is that of the skilled working-class, and my educational experience was that of an eleven-plus 'failure'. Until my mid to late twenties, the assumptions I made of the world reflected my position as a white working-class woman. The process of change started with my return to education. Now, almost twenty years later, this class background provides the framework against which I consider the middle-class world in which I move.

The injustice and discrimination I observed and felt as a young woman was, in the mid to late seventies, finally given both a name and a framework within which it could be considered: this was feminism. My feminist roots are primarily those of an activist, who subsequently turned increasingly to theory in order to make sense of practice. The two remain intricately intertwined.

This is the relevant twinned base of my analysis: my class and my gender. My 'race' has not been, in this country, as significant a subjectivity as class and gender: this clearly being the undoubted, questionable privilege of being white and not black. In this account of my subjectivities, although I have selected those relevant to the research question and methodology, there are many others which I do not consider relevant, and have not, therefore, disclosed.[4] This points to a significant observation from within feminist methodology: that is the process of deconstruction which locates and questions the silences, the places of omission.

This emphasis on multi-subjectivity and plurality is, similarly, a defining feature of postmodernist thought, and as such is linked to the important critique, which again it shares with feminism, of the construct of knowledge, and in particular the questioning of the

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[4] My disability, on the other hand, whilst relevant to certain specific aspects of the analysis does not itself form part of the base of the ongoing analysis, as does my class and gender.

concept of 'truth' and of the professed 'objectivity' of knowledge. (see below) This too has related strongly to my early class and gendered experience of education, and to subsequent readings of texts situated beyond the white, male, Christian-based, heterosexually assumed, dominant discourse.

Theoretical positioning of the research.

Feminist theory is not unified and unproblematic. The basic definition of western feminism into three or four main perspectives, like that relating to the sex segmentation of the labour market, necessarily obscures points of convergence and highlights difference in order to clarify the fundamental theoretical differences between them. It nevertheless provides a starting place for the consideration of western feminist thought.

The British historian Olive Banks (1981) writing of feminism within Britain and the United States of America focuses on three main perspectives, each linked to a particular intellectual tradition traced back to the eighteenth century. What Banks labels 'equal rights' feminism is traced back to the Enlightenment, and in particular the thoughts of J.S. Mill and Mary Wollstonecroft. The emphasis here is on gender similarity and the need for the recognition of basic natural rights which would reduce male privilege and enable women to have access to the same chances as men, meaning they could therefore compete equally. This perspective is referred to throughout this study as liberal-feminism.[5]

The second perspective detailed by Banks is that of 'radical' feminism. This she traces back to evangelical Christianity, its missionary zeal and concern with social issues, especially slavery. She points to the increasingly active role of women within this movement and their concern with social and moral issues which grew into the radical-feminist concept of the moral superiority of women.

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[5] A fuller understanding of the liberal-feminist perspective can be gained from the following texts: Eisenstein 1981; Wollstonecroft 1792; Byrne 1978; Friedan 1963; Boverman 1972; Rendel 1985.

Banks' third perspective is 'socialist' feminism which she locates not within Marxism but within European, especially French, socialism, with its stress on the importance of 'community' and 'free love', the line of which can be identified in Britain through, for instance, William Morris and Havelock Ellis. In addition to this there has been a strong non-Marxist socialist tradition within Britain itself - for instance the Fabians and the Social Democratic Federation with its stress on the conditions of the working people and, relevant to this study, its emphasis on worker education.

The American, Alison Jaggar (1983) points to the historic development of these perspectives, to the change in language from 'rights' and 'equality' to that, during the 1960s and '70s, of 'liberation' and 'oppression' - the contemporary expression of the concepts of freedom, justice and equality. These, the basic concepts of equality, liberty and justice are those defining the liberal feminist perspective with its locating principle of 'rationality and reason'. Jaggar points to the academics' legitimising use of the latter, and the activists', and Marxists', use of the former.

Jaggar's analysis of feminism is based on four perspectives: adding to the three above that of 'Marxist' feminism. Unlike Banks, Jaggar locates the roots of (American) 'radical' feminists in that of the liberal civil rights movement and to the "Marxist-inspired new left". (p11) This two-pronged root has, she argues, prevented the identification of one main 'radical' feminist analysis. But, nevertheless,

> "what unified all these (radical) analyses was a conviction that the oppression of women was fundamental: that is to say, it was causally and conceptually irreducible to the oppression of any other group." (Jaggar 1983 p12)[6]

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[6] A fuller understanding of the radical-feminist perspective can be gained from the following texts: Rowland & Duelli-Klein 1990; Kadar 1988; Eisenstein 1984; Dworkin 1981; MacKinnon 1982; Koedt 1973; Joreen 1973; Ferguson et al 1982; Johnston 1973; London Lesbian Offensive Group 1984; Morgan 1984; Burris 1973; Daly 1978; Bunch 1987; Rich 1976, 1980a, 1980b; Chester 1979.

Marxists-feminists are clearly rooted in Marxist thought.[7] Marxist-feminists in general identify two main areas of women's oppression: the first relates to their low-paid, low-status position within the paid labour market. This serves capitalism by permitting low wage costs. Women, assumed to be financially supported by men, are able to enter and leave the labour market dependent on capital's need of them - a 'reserve army' of labour.[8] The second area of women's oppression is that of the sexual division of labour which enforces domestic, unpaid, labour on women. The sex-specific oppressions such as rape, prostitution, domestic violence, and women's subservient economic position within marriage, are all explained in terms of the functions and interests of capitalism: of capitalist reductionism. This means that:

> "Appearances to the contrary, the sex-specific oppression of women is perpetrated not by men but by capitalism." (Jaggar, 1983, p224)

This essentially, is the Marxist position on the prime oppression of women: it is capitalism. The shared class position vis-a-vis capitalism is paramount. With the coming of socialism there will no longer be a capitalist class with an interest in maintaining the oppression of women.

Whilst accepting Jaggar's differentiation between Marxist and socialist feminism, and noting that her account of both is clearly rooted in the North American experience, they do nevertheless share certain underlying features with that of Britain. Socialist feminism broadens the basic Marxist economic analysis to include not only the production and exchange of goods and labour, but also the procreative and sexual work done by women in the home. Socialist feminists add a gender analysis to that of class. Part of their rejection of Marxist distinctions between the public and private spheres is based on the extension of the Marxist concept of 'alienation'.

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[7] A Marxist-feminist perspective can be found in the following texts: Barrett 1980, 1987; Humphries 1977; Beechey 1977, 1978, 1979; Anyon 1983; Wolpe 1978; Hartmann 1981.
[8] A discussion of this theory of a 'reserve army' can be found on p50/2.

> "In contemporary society, women are alienated in all aspects of their lives. Moreover, this alienation takes special, gender-specific forms. .... Socialist feminist explorations reveal the ways in which women are alienated as sexual beings, as mothers and as wives." (Jaggar 1983 p308)

For British socialist feminism, the missing ingredient from Jaggar's account is that of the British historic tradition of socialism, including the left-wing of the Labour Party and other further-left socialist and Marxist groups, from which, during the 1970s, many British socialist feminists have come.[9]

Jaggar does provide a very detailed and well argued account of the development and philosophical base of the four main feminist perspectives, but it is not strictly, nor unproblematically, transferable to the British feminist experience. For instance, there is the importance of the critique of British white feminism from British black feminists.

Western feminism, up to the late 1970s could be seen as being essentially modernist. The predominantly white middle-class educated women of Europe, North America and Australasia attempted to speak on behalf of 'woman' and little concession was made to difference: race, class, or anything else, and what little there was ranged from the patronizing to the philanthropic. It was assumed that all women would share the concerns, the perspective, of the white middle-classes and therefore the white middle-classes could speak on their behalf: they did not need a voice of their own.

Within Britain, this was true of all factions: radical, liberal, socialist and Marxist. Although during the late 1970s British white middle-class feminists often spoke of wanting more white working-class women to join them, and more black women to join them, it was just that - the white middle-class feminists wanted the others to

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[9] For an indication of the socialist-feminist perspective see the following texts: Rowbotham 1972; Rowbotham et al 1979; Hartsock 1983a, 1983b; Feminism and Class Politics 1986; Meiksins Wood 1988; Phillips 1985; Eisenstein 1979; Hanmer 1990; Johnson 1990. See also Feminist Review no 23: special issue entitled *Socialist-feminism: out of the blue.*

join them, and essentially to agree to the already established agenda, and their white middle-class established mode of conduct. (Carby 1982; Hull et al 1982; Bryan et al 1985)

Just as male modernists subsumed woman within 'man', so these feminists subsumed black women, working-class women, and disabled women within the terms 'woman' and 'we'.

Another difference between the British and North American feminist experience is that the North American radical feminist perspective was, throughout the 1980s, more fundamentally separatist and culture-defined than in Britain. British radical feminism was engaged in activist debate not only with socialist feminism but also with 'revolutionary feminism' which went beyond an emphasis and celebration of feminist 'womanculture' and 'womanspace' into, as the name suggests, a more direct confrontation and militant approach to male oppression.[10] The class make-up of 'revolutionary feminists' was seemingly less predominantly middle-class than 'radical', 'liberal', or even 'socialist' feminists, and during the late 1970s/early 1980s there was much heated class-based debate, particularly in the key 'revolutionary feminist' cities of the time: London, Leeds and Fife.[11]

The philosophical base of the revolutionary feminists is more in tune with that of both the 'far left' and of the more militant, and class-aware, suffragettes. It included the fundamental radical concepts of the specific oppression of women and of the need for 'womanspace' and 'separatism', and also the socialist understanding of 'class' oppression, and of the privileges held by middle-class women over working-class women. More so than radical feminists,

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10 'Activist debate' refers to that undertaken by feminist activists. These women were, in the 1980s, generally, but not exclusively, non-academics.

11 As was also the case at the Revolutionary Feminist conference held in Brighton in September 1978.

revolutionary feminists engaged, from an activist base, in constructing theory.[12]

The particular significance of revolutionary feminism in this account is the understanding of its influence on the development of British *radical* feminism, for this represented the broader area of convergence of thought and debate. Therefore whilst much of British radical feminism reflects the strong emphasis on feminist cultural and biologically celebratory ideas, there are many areas equally strongly influenced by the now dispersed revolutionary feminists with their strong gender-based class analysis and advocacy of confrontational activism to directly provoke both gendered and class change. It is this 'revolutionary' end of British radical feminism which merges with the broader class based and economically determined socialist feminism. It is here that I am theoretically and experientially located.

The first point to be made from this brief account of feminist perspectives is that which relates to the continuous cross-over between feminist activism and feminist theory. Whilst evident to differing degrees in all perspectives, this relates most directly to socialist feminists and those sections of British radical feminists outlined above. This acknowledgment of the dependence of the construction of feminist theories upon practice (or activism), and of activism upon theory is fundamental to this study: in its design, analysis, and the theoretical framework in which its findings are

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12 A major forum for this, and for facilitating national debate, was WIRES: the Womens Information Research and Education Service. This was a subscription-only newsletter published by a geographically rotating collective of women from the late seventies until the late eighties/early nineties. It, like the better funded and more widely known feminist magazine 'Spare Rib' no longer exists. Further understanding of the revolutionary-feminist position can be gained from the Leeds Revolutionary Feminist Group 1981; Trouble & Strife 1984; Jeffreys 1977.

eventually located.[13] (For further discussion of feminist praxis see O'Brien 1989.)

The second point is that which, in showing the diversity of feminist thought, also shows the way in which a particular perspective can be likened to a similar non-feminist broader philosophical trend: liberal feminism with liberal egalitarianism; Marxist feminism with Marxism; socialist feminism with socialism; radical feminism with American 'civil rights' and celebratory cultural difference, as well as with British socialist-based suffragettes and militancy; revolutionary feminism with suffrage and far-left militancy. This linkage of particular aspects of feminism with that of non-feminist thought is continued in the present areas of convergence between certain key aspects of feminism and those of postmodernism.

Postmodernism, as an expression of philosophical thought, has its proponents and its critics - both feminist and non-feminist.[14] On the one hand, the proponents, as indicated in footnote 13, assert the strength and power of the dialogues it has provoked which they say can not now be dismissed. Its critique of modernist assumptions of truth, universality, historical progress, and all manifestations of totalitarianism have led to the necessary rejection of all meta-narratives and all meta-theories. Postmodernists point instead to both political pluralism, and to the multi-subjectivity of the self. There is firstly the complete fragmentation of the self, only ever connecting to or identifying with others on selected subjectivities: for instance race, nationality, sexuality. And secondly, that of the post-colonial world, fragmenting historically and geographically. The two together represent the postmodernist

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13 It also represents a major point of departure from postmodernist rejections of theory. The discussion of postmodernist rejection of meta-theories and meta-narratives is found, amongst many others, in the following texts: Lyotard 1984; Harvey 1989; Boyne & Rattansi 1990; Lather 1988; Lovibond 1990; Skeggs 1991; Jameson 1984, 1985. The discussion of feminism and postmodernism continues in the following paragraphs of the main text.

14 Feminists who can be located as producing postmodernist texts include Frazer & Nicholson (1990); Opie (1992); Martin (1988; 1992); Morris (1988); and Anthias & Yuval-Davis (1990).

expression of the western worlds' late twentieth century apparent disintegration.[15]

On the other hand there are its feminist and non-feminist critics. Firstly there is the accusationary critique of 'academic opportunism' or 'sell-out', (Skeggs 1991; Bauman 1988 and Callinicos 1989, both quoted in Boyne and Rattansi 1990). This critique is levelled particularly, although not exclusively, at white men, especially those who, with the apparent demise of communism find themselves theoretically adrift and find validation in postmodernist equalisation of *all* subjectivities and in its critique of meta-theory.

Secondly, there is a feminist engagement with some other feminists' and non-feminists' assumptions that feminism gains 'intellectual support' from those areas of convergence with postmodernism. (see for instance Boyne & Rattansi 1990; Smith 1984) Skeggs (1991) argues that postmodernism has in fact, and with scant acknowledgement, 'borrowed heavily' from feminist theory. For instance, feminist concepts of 'difference' and 'specificity' are reworked into postmodernism: the *fractured experiences* of women become further ontological subjectivities with no historical or spatially gendered connections.

Thirdly, there is the critique which centres on the postmodernist rejection of theory. Lovibond (1990) argues that the postmodernist denial of meta-narratives and meta-theories actively proscribes the development of any feminist analysis of the gendering of wealth, power and labour. Responding to the postmodernist suggestion that the time for egalitarian changes of society have passed, she states:

> "It would be only natural for anyone placed at the sharp end of one or more of the existing power structures

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[15] There are two main areas of convergence between feminism and postmodernism which are of relevance to this study. The first is the basic similarity between the *fracturing* of feminism and the *pluralism* of postmodernism. The second, connected to the first, relates to the shared questioning of *truth* and the *objectivity* of knowledge. These concerns, of central relevance to questions of epistemology, are considered more fully in that section below.

> (gender, race, capitalist class ...) to feel a pang of disappointment at this news. But wouldn't it also be in order to feel *suspicion* ? How can anyone ask me to say goodbye to 'emancipatory meta-narratives' when my own emancipation is still such a patchy, hit-and-miss affair ?" (Lovibond 1990 p161)

Flax (1987) argues that, by emphasising pluralism and rejecting theory, postmodernism effectively distances us from any broad political analysis - and hence also from any group-based political action. Walby's (1992) analysis of the potential influence of postmodernism and of its possible dangers best reflects the position of this research:

> "Post-modernist arguments for the fragmentation of the concepts used in 'modernist' social theory have produced a tendency to shift the central theoretical concept away from 'structure' into 'discourse'. ... The consequences of this are to conceptualize power as highly dispersed rather than concentrated in identifiable places or groups. In the face of the complexity of the social world the post-modernist response is to deny the possibility of causality and macro-social concepts. This newfound complexity is sometimes the result of taking seriously the issues of gender and ethnicity. But rather than abandoning the modernist project of explaining the world, we should be developing the concepts and theories to explain gender, ethnicity and class. Not only is the concept of 'woman' essential to grasp the gendered nature of the social world, but so is that of 'patriarchy' in order that we do not lose sight of the power relations involved." (Walby 1992 p48)

Directly connected to this critique is that which expresses the concern that postmodernism is cloaking or disguising older themes of oppression: such as liberal pluralism, neo-conservatism, and even Nietzchean based masculinist subjectivities and fantasies. (see Skeggs 1991; Lovibond 1990)

Pursuing a similar critical theme, Jameson (1984, 1985) and Bauman (1988, 1990) explore the particular link between postmodernism and what Jameson (1984) defined as the present stage of late capitalism.[16] Bauman (1990) emphasises the need of consumer capitalism to stress the individual rather than the collective, for

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16 See also Hebdige 1989; Hobsbawm 1992; Nicholls 1991.

the individual *is* the consumer. He points out that the postmodernist individual has liberty, and that furthermore there is tolerance of cultural difference: unlike modernism there is no assumption of commonality. However, this individual

> "liberty boils down to consumer choice. .. Only such diversity is allowed to thrive as benefits the market. ... As practised by market-led post-modernity, *tolerance* degenerates into estrangement; ... tolerance does not lead to solidarity: it *fragments* instead of uniting. ... Most importantly tolerance is fully compatible with domination." (Bauman 1990 p25)

This language of 'liberty' and 'tolerance' is also that of liberal-democracy, granting individuals their *legal* rights. However, here in late capitalism, as Bauman and Jameson show, the market forces emerge more clearly than before.

Yet, importantly, neither Jameson nor Bauman are totally dismissive of postmodernism: for it is of its time - such stress on the consumerist individual is as much part of this stage of capitalism as are the spatial and temporal changes wrought by computerisation and information technology.
Bauman particularly emphasises its positioning vis-a-vis modernism:

> "Postmodernity is no more (but no less either) than modernity taking a long and attentive look at itself, not liking what it sees and sensing the urge to change. ... Postmodernity is modernity coming to terms with its own impossibility." (Bauman 1990 p23)

This recognition of the necessity that modernist assumptions of universality and truth be critiqued, is one generally accepted by non-feminist and feminist theorists alike. It is this recognition which initially makes postmodernism attractive - especially to those who were not represented in those modernist assumptions. Yet stress on individual difference, of subjectivity/ties, may well prevent collective analysis and action.

Jameson (1984, 1985) believes the common feature of postmodernism to be its depthlessness, its superficiality, which is also a feature of postmodern 'theoretical discourse' or 'intertextuality'.
Importantly, this late-capitalist, postmodernist, spatial and

temporal dislocation makes us practically and theoretically "incapable of distantiation":

> "the prodigious new expansion of multinational capital ends up penetrating and colonizing those very pre-capitalist enclaves (Nature and the Unconscious) which offered extraterritorial and Archimedean footholds for critical effectivity. ... Overtly political interventions .. are all somehow secretly disarmed and reabsorbed by a system of which they themselves might well be considered a part, since they can achieve no distance from it." (Jameson 1984 p87)

Jameson relates the theoretical and practical disarming ability of postmodernism directly to the needs of late capitalism.

A fundamental concept of postmodernism is the stress on the multi-subjectivity of the self, or to put it another way, late capitalism's stress upon consumer individualisation and liberty. This is redolent of the persistent distinguishing feature of liberalism: the overwhelming emphasis placed upon the individual. Colin Kirkwood's (1990) account of male counselling epitomises the inherent danger of postmodernist pluralism reducing theories of oppression down to isolated individualistic subjectivities. Similarly, the critique of Marxist theory by Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1990) reduces class analysis to such extremes of subjectivity that class becomes increasing divorced from the needs of capital.

Whilst unequivocally accepting the postmodernist critique of those modernist assumptions indicated above, the resultant dangers of individualisation as outlined by Skeggs, Lovibond, Walby, Flax, Jameson and Bauman, best express my own concerns regarding the limitations of postmodernism for the construction of theory and the possibilities for collective political action.

Of particular relevance to this study is the postmodernist critique of the homogeneity of the concept 'woman'. This critique reverberates with the feminist engagement with *difference*: of race, age, class, nationality, ethnicity, sexuality, (dis)ability et cetera. Yet given these problems with the term, there is a feminist argument which states that it remains *politically necessary* to use

it.[17] Moi (1990), for example, presents a critique based on Derrida's use of 'woman' as representative of 'other':

> "Women under patriarchy are oppressed because they are *women*, not because they are the irredeemable Other. Anti-semitism is directed against Jews, and South African racism against blacks, not simply against abstract Otherness. The promotion and valorization of Otherness will never liberate the oppressed. ... Only a materialist analysis can provide a credible explanation of *why* the burden of Otherness has been placed on this or that particular group in a given society at a given time." (Moi 1990 p373)

The rejection of the concept of woman is, Moi argues, de-politicising for it deprives the feminist struggle of its specificity.[18] Therefore to use it is a *political* act or statement. Firstly, it asserts a fundamental feminist assertion that despite and even because of these *differences*, or subjectivities, there are identifiable ways in which women are oppressed *because they are women*. Secondly, by using such a concept it enables the identification of the processes and structures which operate, abeit shaded by race, class et cetera, to the general detriment of women and benefit of men. And finally, thirdly, it enables the construction of theories which increase our understanding of the world and which enable conscious action to change it.

This position vis-a-vis postmodernism relates directly to the particular feminist intention of this research: the desire to construct theories - not as an absolute - a truth, but as a process. That is, as a tool which can increase the understanding of the processes and structures of gendered oppression, and to likewise increase our abilities to challenge and change them. This rests on the fundamental belief that feminist activism and theory are intertwined and each mutually dependent on, and beneficial to, the other. This then is the theoretical positioning of this research.

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17 See for instance the following texts: Skeggs 1991; Spivak 1987; Jardine 1985; Jackson 1992.
18 This is also the argument of Eisenstein 1991 and Spivak 1987.

The construct of feminist epistemologies.

Decisions regarding theoretical positioning relate directly to questions of epistemology. The epistemological stance of this research therefore being located within the overall field of *feminist* epistemology. There are two major concerns which follow on from this statement: the first addresses the question of whether there can in fact be such a concept - that is the consideration of feminist epistemologies vis-a-vis non-feminist, or so-called 'objective', 'mainstream' epistemology. This feeds into the second concern, for having argued for the legitimate existence of feminist epistemologies, the question remains, within which *particular* feminist epistemology is this research placed.

Firstly, the question of feminist epistemology itself. In order to address this question it is necessary to return to the western theoretical and philosophical traditions identified in the previous section, for each theoretical positioning is, like feminism, directly linked to a particular epistemological emphasis and understanding of what knowledge is and how it is constructed. The intention of the following brief, and therefore necessarily simplified, account is to provide the background to the situation where the idea of feminist epistemologies becomes not only valid, but also necessary. The particular references to the feminist interpretation within each section are influenced by Jaggar (1983).

Within the liberal tradition the emphasis on the individual extends to the concept of epistemology: knowledge is gained by the individual relying primarily on the evidence gained by the senses from which, governed by epistemological rules, universal inferences can be made. The liberal stance assumes the possibility of taking an 'Archimedean' point: the researcher is positioned 'outside' of the world being studied, thereby granting them the desired objectivity. These liberal notions of epistemology are encapsulated in the positivist model which emphasises objectivity, detachment, lack-of-bias, and denial of any causal effect or value judgement coming from the researchers' class, age, sex or race et cetera.

Quantitative methods of research are apparently much more neutral and therefore acceptable than qualitative ones. Liberal feminists do not advocate a feminist epistemology. The underpinning liberal philosophy of universal human values not only informs their arguments for 'equal rights' but also prevents them from claiming any special sex-based privileges or distinctions either.

The avowed 'objectivity', detachment and 'lack-of-bias' within positivism was first critiqued by Marxist theorists for masking its inherent class interest. This critique was later taken up by feminists who pointed out that it also masked an inherent male interest, and by black theorists that it masked a dominant white interest. These inherent features of positivism along with the universal claims of the liberal tradition can be seen to represent some of those major aspects of modernist thought to which postmodernism has since reacted so strongly.

Some Marxists see the construction of knowledge as being an ongoing, historically determined, collective activity which comes from people's need to change themselves and the world, and which being historically determined is itself linked to specific modes of production.[19] This leads to the crucial understanding that knowledge is socially constructed. Traditional Marxist thought sees the construction of knowledge being in the hands and interests of the dominant class, and therefore actively working *against* the interests of the working-class. Therefore, one cannot say that this knowledge is universal. There is no Archimedean point to be reached: *all* knowledge is socially constructed.[20] Within this strand of Marxist thought, liberal-feminism is seen, Jaggar argues, as representing the 'dominant' class, and all other versions of feminism are 'distorted forms' of the only two existing epistemological positions: that of either the 'dominant' (bourgeoisie) or the 'working' class, (proletariat). Like liberal feminists then, the Marxist position does not allow for feminist

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19 For instance Jameson's linkage of postmodernism with late-capitalism.

20 See for instance the work of Gunew 1990; Arnot 1983; Anyon 1983; Deem 1986; Hall 1981; Willis 1977.

epistemology for feminists should align themselves with the working class position.

Similar to this simplified account of the Marxist class-based critique of the construction of knowledge, is that of the radical-feminists who point to its inherent gender bias.

> "'There is a discourse available to men which allows them to represent themselves as people, humanity, mankind. This discourse, by its very existence, excludes and marginalizes women by making women the sex.'" (Gunew 1990 p28, quoting Black & Coward 1981 p85)

Furthermore, as the basic thought of Marxism as outlined above, did not allow for gender, neither did 'pure' radical feminist thought allow for class: and neither allowed for racial bias, nor heterosexual assumptions either. Difference is recognised, but gender-based commonality supersedes it. Just as Marxism assumed that all other differences were superseded by class, radical feminism assumed that commonalities of gender were more important than class, race, geographical location, or any other variable. Whilst both represented a critique of *liberal* universality they were nevertheless engaged in constructing analyses of the world which were constructed from generalisations based on either class interest or biological difference.

From this position and this critique of the alleged objectivity of knowledge, radical feminism is concerned not only with the 'male' knowledge actually presented to women, but also with the source of knowledge and the subsequent use made of it. The radical feminist epistemology is therefore concerned essentially with the *process* of construction. The vital starting place for feminist knowledge is women's own experience: the world is seen from women's point of view, and from this experience come the specific questions to be asked - and these are often seen to be quite different from those asked by men.[21] There is no attempt here to strive for objectivity

[21] For instance domestic violence, rape and prostitution are the three most quoted areas either previously absent from academic concern, or only considered from a male point of view: the rapist, the pimp or the 'client'.

or detachment - in fact the opposite: feelings and emotions are recognised; non-empirical ways of 'knowing' such as intuition and spirituality are accepted. An intention is to fill in what are seen to be the huge gaps within the knowledge constructed by men.[22]

There are however two major criticisms which can be made of radical feminist epistemology: the first centres on the 'modernist-type' assumptions inherent in the term 'woman', and the second on what Jaggar describes as their general contentment to stay with descriptions of women's experience and their lack of theory.[23] The radical feminist epistemological stance is critiqued for 'only going so far': that is, it describes but does not explain. Despite the linkage above of aspects of radical feminism with certain universalising aspects of modernism, this particular epistemological aspect: the contentment with description over and above the construction of theory, is far more at home with postmodernism.[24]

Critiques of the construction of knowledge, generally accepted as postmodernist have, like Marxist, radical and black feminists, pointed to the false notions of universality and truth. The defining lines between postmodernism and poststructuralism are not always clear and as such it is not unproblematically possible to define a particular theorist one way or the other - for example Foucault. Diamond and Quinby (1988) consider the areas of convergence between Foucault and feminism.[25] They go on to identify his main contributions as centring around the concepts of power-knowledge, the theory of the subject, epistemology, and of ethics grounded in resistance to totalitarian power. However despite these important areas of contribution and the points of convergence with

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[22] See for instance the work of Oakley 1981, 1986; Rich 1980b; Daly 1978; Spender 1987.

[23] Exceptions to this generalisation include, for example, the work of Jackson and Jeffreys.

[24] This contentment with description is resonant of the postmodern depthlessness remarked on earlier, in the reference to Jameson.

[25] These are [1]the body is the site of power; [2]power operates locally and intimately; [3]discourse plays a crucial role in producing and sustaining power; [4]analysis of concepts of truth, universality, human nature and freedom.

feminist thought, Foucault himself makes very little reference to women or feminism.

Diamond and Quinby (1988) and Martin (1988) offer the following critique: he does not adequately address gendered power, or the issues of male power in relation to women's bodies; he marginalizes women: ignores their political activity, and pushes "women's discourses of resistance ... into the margins of his own texts." (Diamond & Quinby 1988 p.xvi) However, there remain his thoughts on normalization, power, discourse and power-knowledge which relate directly to feminist understandings of epistemology, and a consideration of these concepts in relation to feminist theory can be found in Note 8.

A particular common concern of postmodernism and poststructuralism has been with the concept of 'deconstruction' - leading to the deconstruction of the term 'woman' or 'race' or 'class'.[26] The usefulness of this concept for feminists is evident in the methodology section below, particularly in the consideration of the feminist methodological approach of 'critique and construct', for this is necessarily a simultaneous process of deconstruction, reconstruction and construction. For instance, Irigaray (1985) considers the particular construct of 'femininity' which is "a role, an image, a value, imposed upon women by male systems of representation". (p84) The epistemological point made is that with the male as the norm, the "'feminine' is always described in terms of deficiency or atrophy." (p69) She goes on to advocate the construction of a 'woman's discourse' at the same time as women also challenge the male-centred structures of language and thought. Yet the problem is that women must necessarily use the language and concepts which already exist - that is we must use the language and

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[26] 'Deconstruction' can be both a specific theoretical, technical, concept, such as that used by Derrida (1976) and Spivak (1987), and also a much broader, more commonplace, approach to a text, such as that advocated by Gunew 1990. It is the second meaning and its general usefulness as a concept within the broad base of feminist theory, which is the concern of this passage and its subsequent consideration within this Chapter, (p108/11).

concepts we are criticising, in order to criticise it. The feminist critique must look as much at what is not said, as at what is.

However, there is also a certain unease regarding the current vogue for the deconstruction of terms such as 'woman', 'race' or 'class'. The use of ' ' to denote the problematic use of such terms has, however, become 'politically correct', and can be used to such an extent that the terms themselves become meaningless.[27] Although it is not the style adopted throughout this research, the general absence of ' ' is not intended to denote an unproblematic modernistic use of the term, but rather to retain its usefulness as a term for the construction of theory: that is to assert that despite all other subjectivities and differences the general oppression of women, relative to their class and race and other subjectivities, remains because they are women[28]; that the oppression of black people, within Europe, remains, relative to their gender, class and other subjectivities, because they are black; that the oppression of the working-class remains, relative to their gender, race and other subjectivities, because they are working-class. There are two points to be made from this assertion. Firstly, it emphasises the *interwoven* nature of oppression, stressing the points of solidarity rather than of individuality. Secondly, gender, race and class are defined in this way by the concept of *oppression*, which necessarily indicates an *oppressor*: a power relation.

Such an assertion finds its home within the epistemological stance of socialist feminism. Socialist feminism agrees with Marxist and radical feminists that all knowledge is collectively constructed and serves the dominant class and male interests. They agree firstly with Marxists that knowledge is historically determined and reflects the interests and values of the dominant class, and secondly with radical feminists that:

> "Women's perceptions of reality are distorted both by male-dominant ideology and by the male-dominated structure of everyday life." (Jaggar 1983 p371)

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[27] See Walby 1992.
[28] See Stanley 1990a.

Therefore, like the radical feminists, they also advocate the construction of feminist epistemologies, which will represent the world from the standpoint of women. Whilst the epistemology of socialist feminists bears much in common with that of radical feminists - for instance the concern with process and the reliance on women's experience, it is not however content to stay with 'description'. It attempts to construct theories which will *explain* the reality of women's *differing* and *common* experiences.

> "The task for feminist scientists and political theorists is to build on women's experience and insights in order to develop a systematic account of the world, together with its potentialities for change, as it appears from the standpoint of women." (Jaggar 1983 p376)

This strong emphasis on the experiences of women has led to the extensive feminist use of ethnography. This inductive method of research uses the lived reality, the actual experience of people as the data from which theory can be developed. The relevance of this statement at this particular juncture lie in its comparison with postmodernism. Beverley Skeggs (1991) asserts that there is no place for ethnography in postmodernism for there is nothing anyone, other than the author, can say, for there is no *meaning* to be gained from it.[29] For although, on the surface, the two approaches may look similar, the crucial difference is that the material realities, the lived experiences of women, are the first stage towards the construction of feminist *theories* which attempt to identify the causal structures and processes and *explain* those experiences. (see also Gunew 1990 and Maynard 1990)

Gunew (1990) warns against the myth of the notional woman, the lie of global sisterhood. She advocates that feminists should highlight the diversity of women and not engage in replacing a supposed male universality with a female one. Stanley and Wise (1990) state that the experience of 'woman' is 'ontologically fractured' with subjectivities located in economic and historical material realities. This statement acknowledges *difference*, cannot be

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[29] See for example, the work of the postmodernist feminist Anne Opie (1992).

accused of modernist-type assumptions, yet, importantly, also locates the individual within the structural economic and historical material realities of the world.

This encapsulates a major difference between the ontological fracturing, the feminist deconstruction of 'woman', and the multiple subjectivities of postmodernism - that is their particular epistemological response to the concept of differing realities. Postmodernism does not attempt to *understand* the existence of 'others', it merely acknowledges that *all* the others, including oneself, do exist - but as and of the moment, with no history, and no material reality, and no connection with each other, in isolation - both in space and in time. There is therefore no theory to be made, and no action to be taken, other than by that isolated person, or group, in that isolated place in time and space.

On the other hand, many feminists, although similarly concerned with denying the universal of 'woman' and with fractured or multiple subjectivities, strive both to *understand* these differences, and also to identify the commonalities beneath these differences and to construct theories to explain both difference and commonality and to thereby provide a tool for action. There are undoubtedly numerous versions of the action which could be taken, from outright revolution, to a particular piece of legislation, or the funding of a specific feminist project. Whilst the goals of feminisms and individual feminists might differ considerably, the emphasis on the process of change - on the attempt *right now* to better the lives of women, is reliant, for its effectiveness, on the ongoing process of the construction of theories which by explaining the oppression of women, increase understanding and guide action. All feminists could possibly subscribe to this recognition of the interplay between theory and practice.

However, it is the essentially socialist feminist recognition of the *material reality of difference* which is the pivotal point in turning the postmodernist argument away from the feminist one. Similarly it

is just this recognition of the historical and material commonality of women - as women - which is the basis of feminist theories and of any consequent or preceding action.

The socialist feminist construction of knowledge starts from a similar place to that of radical feminists: that is the direct experience and understanding of women, but it differs in its attempt to construct from that a systematic explanation - theories. Furthermore these theories represent the 'potentialities for change'. Unlike postmodernist descriptions of others' realities, these feminist epistemologies are explicitly intended to provoke and promote change in the current power-relationship between men and women.[30]

Socialist and radical feminist epistemologies epitomise the concerns recently voiced in the debate regarding the general area of 'social justice' educational research. With the aim of increasing equality, this research has been defined as being that in which:

> "The research questions and the values within which they are placed, drives the research. The nature of the research question is itself a political statement. .... The processes of acquiring and understanding knowledge, and the process of social change are not three different processes but the same thing." (Wallace 1991a p34)[31]

The total denial of 'objectivity' or detachment within socialist and radical feminist epistemologies, the strength of their emotional involvement and their explicit political intentions are at complete odds with the liberal notions of epistemology. As such we are, as feminists, required to account for and to legitimize our epistemological position in a way which is not required for someone professing value-free objectivity. For as Jane Flax points out:

> ".. academics do not worry about how being men may

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[30] This concept can be found in the following feminist texts: Mies 1990; Stanley and Wise 1990; Kremer 1990; Lather 1988.

[31] This debate is located within the following texts: Hammersley 1990a, 1990b, BERA conference paper 1991, 1992; Foster 1990, 1991, 1992; Connolly 1992; Swann & Graddol 1990; Wright 1990; Stanley 1990b; Ramazanoglu 1992; Gelsthorpe 1992. See also the relevant comments in Weiner 1990b and Wallace 1991a and 1991b.

> distort their intellectual work, while women who study gender relations are considered suspect (of triviality, if not bias)." (Flax 1987 p629)

And Irigaray says:

> "Women's social inferiority is reinforced and complicated by the fact that woman does not have access to language, except through recourse to 'masculine' systems of representation which disappropriate her from her relation to herself and to other women. The 'feminine' is never to be identified except by and for the masculine, the reciprocal proposition not being 'true'." (Irigaray 1985 p85)

This Chapter has attempted to show that feminist thought, whilst often sharing certain clear characteristics with non-feminist dominant philosophies, has nevertheless had its own history and development and that within the parameters of each major perspective, women have engaged with concepts and theories in the construction of feminist epistemologies from which we later feminists can gain validation, and to which we can refer, critique and build on ourselves. The relevance of this is the warning given by, amongst others, Duelli-Klein (1983) and Gunew (1990), that feminists should be wary of having their new paradigms subsumed within other dominant discourses, for instance, Marxism, liberalism, black political theory, and currently postmodernism or Foucauldianism. In relation to this, Duelli-Klein also stresses the importance of looking 'forward' and of improving feminist methodologies rather than

> "working backwards: justifying our work to those who do not want to hear what we are doing, why we are doing it and how it differs from their approaches. Since our time and energy are limited why not use our feminist intellect to work towards *our own* paradigms instead of changing theirs." (Duelli-Klein 1983 p98)

Therefore to conclude this section: the identification of this research with the pursuit of a primarily socialist feminist epistemology is traceable, back through this Chapter, to the ontological positioning of the researcher as detailed at the beginning. This Chapter has shown the reasons for the choice of a

feminist methodology, and the epistemological justifications for it. The following quote from Wittgenstein encapsulates the position now reached:

> "'How am I to obey a rule ?' - if this is not a question about causes, then it is about the justification for my following the rule in the way I do.
> If I have exhausted the justification I have reached bedrock, and my spade is turned. Then I am inclined to say, 'this is simply what I do.'" (Wittgenstein 1976 p85)

The relevance of this particular epistemology to the specific focus of the research itself is not surprising given that the decision to undertake the research and the original research question were also grounded in the same ontology. However, the distinction between radical feminist epistemology and socialist feminist epistemology and the particular relevance of the latter became clear during the process of the research. Radical feminism did not engage sufficiently with issues other than gender, and these differences between women were clearly evident and needed to be addressed not merely described. Along with its engagement with class and gender, integral to socialist feminist epistemology is the vitally important intention to move beyond the description of women's experiences to the construction of theory - to engage with the structures and processes operating behind those experiences. As detailed below, this was in fact the process of this particular research project.

Feminist methodology.

Feminist methodology is a logical extension of feminist epistemology. This methodology represents the broad theoretically informed framework within which the research takes place. Essentially it can be seen to guide the research methods used, the theoretical concepts of analysis and interpretation, the positioning and relationships of the researcher to the researched, and the form of the presentation of the results.[32] This is not to say, for

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[32] See for instance the following feminist texts: Gunew 1990; Roberts 1981; Duelli-Klein 1983; Maynard 1990; Wise 1987; Harding 1987; Middleton 1984; Eichler 1988; and non-feminist: Haralambos & Holborn 1990; Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 1992.

example, that there are particular feminist methods but that the decision is made from within the researcher's understanding of feminist methodology. As there are differing feminist perspectives, and differing feminist epistemologies so there are differing feminist methodologies. Yet, just as feminist perspectives shared an understanding of the general inequality or oppression of women, and feminist epistemologies shared a need to make women's voices and experiences heard within the construction of knowledge, so there are identifiable shared concepts and ideas within feminist methodologies. This section outlines those main areas.

Many feminist theorists have provided definitions of 'feminist methodology' - often taking Mies (1983) as their starting point.[33] These are clearly rooted in the feminist epistemologies of the previous section - particularly those of radical and socialist feminists. In order to construct feminist epistemologies, the methodology is concerned not just with that construction, but also with the necessary critique of the existing dominant non-feminist epistemologies. They are, for the purpose of this discussion, artificially separated, although it remains clear where the overlap between the two occurs.

Firstly, the methodological process of critique. As Gunew (1990) points out, this is a method for analysing the 'dominant male discourse' - it is not itself a conclusion. There are two identifiable stages to this process of feminist critique. The first is that described by De Bois as 'archaeological' - centring on the present and past experiences of women, and the second is the critique of non-feminist claims for 'objective' and 'dispassionate' research.

De Bois outlines the first 'archaeological' step as the act of discovering, uncovering and identifying the

> "actual facts of women's lives and experience, facts that have been hidden, inaccessible, suppressed,

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[33] For instance, see Stanley & Wise 1990; Kremer 1990; Gunew 1990; Maynard 1990.

> distorted, misunderstood, ignored." (De Bois 1983 p109)[34]

This basic identification of absences and distortion is clearly rooted in feminist epistemology, for such a critique is explicitly concerned with the construct of knowledge. It also links with similar concerns considered from within postmodernist texts - especially the concept of deconstruction. Also relevant to this understanding is the earlier consideration of Foucault's concept of power-knowledge: see Note 8.

The second stage of this critique is that which focuses on 'mainstream', non-feminist claims of objective and dispassionate research. The analysis provided by Mies (1990) of the development of the claims of scientific objectivity of truth is itself an example of this process of feminist critique: the basis of these claims being traced back to the sixteenth century where science, linked with objective truth, was effectively separated from politics. (see also Benston 1989) This is, Mies argues, the root of the contemporary

> "contradiction between the prevalent theories of social science and methodology and the political aims of the women's movement." (Mies 1983 p120)

This has definite ramifications for the later consideration of the emancipatory nature of feminist methodologies, both their processes and their aims.

Secondly, following the concept of critique, comes the methodological process of *construct*. This is an attempt to move beyond the initial process of critique, and it is in direct and explicit resistance to those claims of objective and dispassionate research considered above.

Early contemporary, essentially liberal, feminists focused on the 'gaps' and the silences in the prevailing knowledge, and then 'added in women': for instance, women and literature, women and the economy, women and housing. Then came the identification of areas

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[34] See also Gunew 1990; Griffiths 1991; Mies 1983, 1990.

of specific concern to women: for instance, male domestic violence and rape, which was generated primarily from amongst radical and revolutionary feminists. Other areas included motherhood, and the effect of particular health policies upon women, in which socialist feminists played a leading role. The combination of the two approaches leads to a current identifiable trend towards an understanding and belief that a feminist methodology can, and should, be taken into all research areas. That is to say, feminist methodology should not simply operate to fill the epistemological gaps within established 'male'/'objective' knowledge, nor should it cordon itself off into 'women's' areas of concern.

The construct element of feminist methodology repeatedly refers to several key identifying features. These are:

1 the focus of the research - the experience of the researcher and the researched is the basis of the research;

2 feminist researchers are women;

3 the process of the research is important: especially the relationship between the researcher and the researched;

4 feminist research is emancipatory in its process;

5 the research should be accessible and theoretically and/or practically useful to the feminist struggle against the oppression of women.

In both radical and socialist feminist epistemology the emphasis is upon the *experience* of women. The importance of this is that it is *not* the experience of men: women's reality of the world is inaccessible to men, whereas the male interpretation of reality is forced upon women.

> "Because dominant culture is forcibly lived by all, while the lived reality of subordinate or oppressed cultures is unique to the subordinate or oppressed, this argument does not have a parallel which would assert that only men have access to male reality." (Kremer 1990 p465, quoting Mathews 1984 p15)

This is the 'double consciousness' referred to by De Bois: "we are in and of our society but in important ways also not 'of' it." (1983 p111)

The feminist research emphasis is then on the 'view from below' - the view of the world from the point of view of the researched rather than, as traditionally, the researcher.[35] Stanley and Wise, for instance, stress that feminist research is:

> "located in and proceeds from the *grounded analysis* of women's material realities." (Stanley & Wise 1990 p25)

This emphasis on the grounding of feminist theory has similarities with Glaser and Strauss's arguments for the method of grounded theory which is itself considered in the following section of this chapter. (Glaser & Strauss 1967) Both actively encourage a reflective and responsive approach to the *process* of the research - the design, the steps, of the research are not fixed at the beginning, but rather each stage - the direction taken, the research method chosen, and the means of analysis, are determined by the emergent data and the analysis of the previous stage. As well as providing this emphasis on process, such grounding of theory, enabling a degree of triangulation of method, provides an internal check on the validity of the research. (see Cohen & Manion 1989) The relevance of this grounding of research in the experience of women is evident in the research outline below.

The second common point of feminist methodology is that feminist researchers are, and arguably should be, women. This assumption is inherent in the methodological guidelines of Mies (1983). More recently, one of the strongest advocates of this is Kremer (1990). She states that it is

> "vital that women are able to claim and hold the hard-won, cultural spaces, meanings and power in the words *feminist* and *feminism*." (Kremer 1990 p463)

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[35] This point is made by the following feminist theorists: Duelli-Klein 1983; Maynard 1990; Stanley & Wise 1990; Mies 1990; Smith 1988a, 1988b; Lather 1988.

She fears that men, doing feminist research, would take it over, rise within it, redefine it in their terms and this would result in women being forced to concentrate on the arguments of men rather than on the realities of women's lives. (Perhaps this is already happening with 'gender' studies.) In similar vein, Stanley and Wise (1990) warn against the danger of feminism becoming 'colonised'. McRobbie (1982) also argued against men being 'feminist researchers' for they would gain a 'powerbase' over the women they were interviewing.[36] Apart from these historically grounded fears of male take-over, the other reason for feminist researchers to be women lies in the next common aspect of feminist methodology: that is the importance placed upon the *process* of the research.

There are two particular aspects to this emphasis on the research process. The first centres on the relationship between the researcher and the researched. The second is the emancipatory nature of the process for all those engaged in it.

Firstly, the relationship between the researcher and the researched. A major concept in this relationship is that termed by Mies (1983) as 'conscious partiality', referring to a conscious identification of the researcher with the 'subject' of the research. Harding's (1987) identification of the 'shared critical plane' existing between researcher and researched is essentially an expression of the same idea. (see also Smith 1988b) The reasoning here is that the shared gender of researcher and researched means both share a similar gendered experience of reality, which therefore facilitates and enables a greater depth and quality to the research.

> "Conscious partiality requires the double consciousness of the researcher, as *woman* and as researcher." (Kremer 1990 p465)

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36 This idea of male feminists correlates with a similar debate which has focused on the question of white women engaging in research with black women. Similar arguments of power, conscious partiality and shared critical plane are central to it. This is discussed more fully on p130/1.

This 'double consciousness' is seen by socialist feminist researchers as "the inner view of the oppressed" and as such represents a "methodological and political opportunity and not an obstacle." (Mies 1983 p121)[37]

There has, however, been a tension between feminists regarding what some have seen as the overriding importance and value given to this 'conscious partiality'. Some, coming from essentially a radical feminist perspective, saw the sharing of gender as superseding all other difference. For instance, see Oakley (1981) and Finch (1984) who believed that the researcher and the researched share the same gendered 'powerless situation'. Such assumptions of 'equality' between women within, for instance, an interview situation ignores, for a start, the power inherent simply in the role of researcher. Secondly, it ignores any power held through being white, and middle-class/educationally privileged [38]. Within a research situation it is likely that a white educated researcher will share with a black uneducated, unemployed women only her gender. To share gender *is* important - for all the reasons given above regarding the necessity for *women* alone to undertake feminist research. And it does allow for certain assumptions to be made (for instance Middleton, unpublished 'memoirs', mentions menstruation). But the sharing of gender does not automatically supersede class, race, for instance, or even sexuality, ethnicity or disability. (see Riessman 1987) To quote McRobbie on this subject:

> "Feminism shouldn't be taken as a password misleading us into a false notion of 'oneness' with all women purely on the grounds of gender ... age, class, culture and race do create real barriers which have real effects. Invariably women researchers do experience vast spaces between themselves and those they may be studying. ...

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37 This view is also expressed in the following texts: Stanley & Wise 1990; Stanley 1990a; Duelli-Klein 1983. See also the section above on socialist feminist epistemology.

38 Working-class women who gain access to higher education are not the same as the working-class women who do not. Yet to say they are then middle-class ignores the cultural, social and economic realities of their lives, setting them adrift from their past, and assumes from them a knowledge and way of being in the world which does not come with education alone, but is more essentially materially/economically, and even culturally, based.

> Whilst feminism ensures thoughtfulness, sensitivity and sisterhood, it cannot bind all women together purely on the grounds of gender. Such a cohesion would be spurious, misleading and short-lived." (McRobbie 1982 p52)

This question of the degree of conscious partiality and the level of equality between participants in the research process reflects the basic theoretical and epistemological differences between radical feminism and socialist feminism. The question here is one of *degree* and *level*, not of the concepts themselves; lines between feminist perspectives are not rigid, and as previously stated, any distinctions are exaggerated simply to clarify the point.

The radical interpretation relates to the overriding importance of conscious partiality - the unity of women over all else. The socialist response whilst accepting the importance of gender, also recognises the importance of other power-laden differences. From within the radical feminist perspective comes the stress on maintaining this 'equality' between women, throughout the entire research process.[39] For instance, the researcher regularly checks back with the researched on the analysis and interpretation of the data: after transcription; first draft; before publication. The rationale for this is based on the critique, shared with socialist feminists, of the power inherent within the research situation.

Radical, socialist and 'postmodernist' feminists question the extent to which those women being researched are placed in the position of passive suppliers of information required by the researcher, who then goes away and uses it with no further involvement from or engagement with them. This is a shared understanding that the 'process' itself, as well as the end result, should be emancipatory. An advocate of the postmodern position is Opie (1992) who argues for a deconstructive analysis as a means of mitigating against the

> "potential for appropriation which accompanies the researchers ideological positioning." (p56)

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[39] See for instance, Stanley & Wise 1990; Gunew 1990; Maynard 1990; Smith 1988a.

Here she uses Said's (1978) definition of 'appropriation' as the

> "means by which the experiences of the 'colonised' ... are interpreted by a (more) dominant group to sustain a particular representation or view of the 'other' as part of an ideological stance." (Opie 1992 p55/6)

The results of such a deconstructive process or 'reading' do not attempt to be definitive but aim rather to produce

> "texts which incorporate multiple voices, .. (with) value for theory and the empowerment of participants." (p59)

Such an understanding is rooted in each of their respective (socialist, radical and postmodernist) epistemologies which, unlike that of the liberal feminists, is based on the belief that the construction of knowledge is an historically located collective activity.[40] Furthermore, both radical and socialist feminists stress that feminist research should be in the interests of women, and not simply to produce academic work for its own sake. The shared critique, including that of postmodernists, extends to any unnecessary or elitist academic language which prevents access to research findings and therefore limits its political usefulness.[41]

However, from these shared understandings regarding the power inherent between researcher and researched, they differ in their response to it. The radical response is to attempt to erase the power altogether. They stress the overriding commonality of gender to the subsequent detriment of any other material difference between women. On the other hand feminists working from within postmodernist theory stress the many differences, the pluralism and multi-subjectivity within 'woman' and do not attempt to find gendered commonality upon which theories might be based. The effect

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40 This emancipatory emphasis on the process of the research expresses similarities with Freire's (1972) concept of 'conscientization'. There can, for both the researcher and the researched, be an element of 'consciousness raising' which, to use Marxist terminology: enables the appropriation of history through the collectivization of women's experience.

41 These aspects of shared feminist methodology can be found in the following texts: Gunew 1990; Stanley 1990a; Stanley & Wise 1990; Maynard 1990; Mies 1990; Kremer 1990; Lather 1988; Smith 1988a, 1988b; Duelli-Klein 1983.

of both is to ignore the relations of power, materially and economically rooted, which operate between women - individually and collectively based upon, for instance, their class, race or sexuality. This epistemological position of both radical feminists and postmodernists necessarily ignores the operation of power between women, for to acknowledge it existing outside of male structures is to acknowledge the force and the inherent power relations in class and race which operate between women as well as between men. This critique of the radical position represents, in essence, that of socialist feminism.

However, despite the degree of difference between radical and socialist feminists, this concept of 'conscious partiality' is clearly in direct contradiction to the objectivity and emotional detachment of the liberal based positivist influenced 'mainstream' methodological approaches, with its underlying assumption regarding the professed objectivity of the researcher. This is the crucial difference: not so much the emphasis on 'conscious partiality' but the explicit placing of the researcher within the research process. The difference is that within feminist methodology the researcher becomes someone who, from their own ontological reality, makes themselves 'knowable' within the research.[42] There is an understanding that the material realities of gender, class, race and sexuality (for instance) belong to the researcher as well as to the researched. This enables the reader of the research to 'know' and understand the position from which it comes, and then, relative to their own understanding of the world, position themselves accordingly, to it, and to their reading of it. This represents a fuller account of the epistemological base for this researcher's own self-positioning.[43]

This leads to the final point regarding radical and socialist feminist methodology: that is, the research should be accessible and

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42 This understanding can be located in the following texts: Gunew 1990; Stanley 1990a; Maynard 1990, and Stanley & Wise 1990; Mies 1983, 1990; Kremer 1990; Lather 1988; Smith 1988a, 1988b; Duelli-Klein 1983.

43 See p89/90.

theoretically and/or practically useful to the feminist struggle against the oppression of women. This is its acknowledged intent: from the ontological positioning of the researcher, to the feminist methodological emphasis on *process*, and the conscious partiality of the researcher with the researched, to the final use of the 'finished' work: that is its political, 'social justice' based, intent. The following quote from Mies (1990) stresses the importance of this statement. It also draws together some of the crucial defining aspects of feminist theories outlined above.

> (white) "feminist theory has its roots in the Womens Liberation Movement, it was *not* the result of academic efforts, it did *not* arise in research institutions, it was *not* invented by a few gifted scholars, but arose on the street, in countless women's groups. ... In other words, it was feminists, who had a POLITICAL goal - in broad terms, the liberation of women from the domination of men, violence and exploitation." (Mies 1990 p433)

This is the activist root of British socialist, radical and revolutionary feminism. It can be seen to represent the crux of the matter in regard to socialist feminist epistemology: theories are constructed from the systematic analysis of women's experience, including that of the researcher herself. Theories are constructed which are not fixed, final or with pretensions towards the universal, but which are part of a continually developing process: producing feminist knowledge[44] which will assist women wanting to understand their world, and women who want to add to or critique the existing feminist knowledge. Feminist theory is fundamentally and overtly political: it is committed to changing the lives of women currently defined/confined by the structures and processes of patriarchal and capitalist society.

This first part of this chapter provides the theoretical base for the slightly more descriptive account of this particular research project in the second part. This ontological, epistemological and methodological feminist positioning is the 'bedrock' upon which this thesis rests.[45]

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[44] 'Knowledge' should be 'knowledge*s*' but the structure of the language makes it difficult to read it as such.
[45] This is a reference to the quote from Wittgenstein, above, p113.

The research method.

The research methods used in this process, the reasoning behind their choice, the subsequent analysis of data and the further development of the research, have all taken place within the context of the socialist feminist epistemological and methodological framework outlined above. The structure of this section of the Chapter is based on the actual progression of the research. Where relevant, consideration is given to the questions of representativeness, validity and replication. Throughout this section concepts are used which have been considered in depth in the preceding section and therefore, in the interests of clarity, reference is made to this now, rather than repeatedly throughout the following text.

The research direction is inductive: theory being developed from data.[46] The rationale for this is found in feminist methodology: that is that knowledge is constructed from the experience of women. This is the starting point for the ensuing systematic analysis leading to the construction of theories. The similarities existing between the grounding of feminist theory and the concept of 'grounded theory' as conceived by Glaser and Strauss (1967) determined the intention to underpin the research with this general approach.[47] As conceived by them, grounded theory is an inductive method of research which is concerned with the development of theory from data systematically obtained through methods of comparative analysis. It is essentially a 'question led' approach:

> "The researcher continually asks questions as to fit, relevance and workability about the emerging categories, and relationships between them. He continually fits his analysis to the data by checking as he proceeds." (Glaser 1978 p284)

The research progresses in stages, each stage not only determining the questions to be addressed in the following stage, the concepts

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[46] Inductive research is considered in the following texts: Glaser & Strauss 1967; Haralambos & Holborn 1990; Wallace 1991a, 1991b; Cohen & Manion 1989; Stanley & Wise 1990; Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 1992.

[47] See p117 for this comparison of feminist theory with grounded theory.

and tentative hypotheses, but also the research method and means of analysis. Essentially 'grounded theory' refers to a research 'process', a simultaneous collection and coding of data along with development of theory. These three activities

> "should blur and intertwine continually, from the beginning of an investigation to its end." (Glaser & Strauss 1967 p43)

The use of specific research methods are therefore indicated by the theory as it is generated: quantitative or qualitative, depending on the needs of the data. This particular research project is an example of just such an 'integrated research' approach: using where necessary either quantitative or qualitative data. This, as mentioned above, provides what Cohen and Manion (1989) refer to as an internal method of triangulation: a check on its own internal validity.

Critiques levied against both inductive research in general and 'grounded theory' in particular can be summarised as follows. The first states that all research *must* necessarily start with a theory, which makes the approach one of deduction not induction: those who argue for inductive research are simply not recognising, or being honest about, the theory they hold. The second argument questions the validity and representativeness of grounded theory. And the third centres on accusations of 'wishy-washiness', of lack of direction or form: a basic accusation that the researcher has not given sufficient thought to the original hypothesis and/or the relevant research design.

It could, however, be argued that this critique of grounded theory is based on a misunderstanding of its intention and possibilities. As one stage, from the analysis of data and the emergence of dominant categories, leads into and determines the next, so the *theory* can be constructed from the *relationships* between the emerging categories. Grounded theory is not a collection of descriptions of the separate stages but is a *process* of research which has at its core, the pursuit of the *connections* between them.

It is particularly suited to research, such as this project, into an under-researched field where it is not possible, at the beginning, to predict or hypothesise about possible outcomes. However, starting with a field of broad questions the emergent dominant categories can lead to tentative hypotheses. Yet, as previously stated, within a grounded theory approach, such tentative hypotheses are not a structure or a tool for a deductive or positivist approach to the research, but generated as they are from the analysis of the preceding data, they express the focal concerns of the next stage of the research.

The argument being presented in favour of grounded theory is that it can represent the most suitable approach for certain, under-researched, areas of concern. This means it is not necessarily the most useful method for other research projects. For example, using the grounded theory approach within this project, from the broadly based interviews of the case study - the micro focus of the research - emerged the workers' suspicion or questioning of the real intentions of the funders. The subsequent stages led to the conclusion based on European data - the emergent macro focus - that the workers' suspicions were in fact justified. However, the research project has not been concerned simply with 'testing' the suspicion of the workers, but has, through the generation of categories within each stage of the research, focused primarily on the emerging dominant relationship between them - that is the discourse of equal opportunities. In future research, either of the tentative hypotheses generated within this research project, or the generated final hypothesis contained in the conclusion, could be used to conduct research into the same field which could, by taking a more deductive approach, discard, in that instance, the need for the method of grounded theory.

Within this grounded theory approach there are four stages to this research project:

1. original research questions and research design;
2. case study with the 'workers' of ESF funded training scheme;
3. search of ESF (and UK) documents;

4. secondary data (quantitative): EC and UK labour market information and reports.

Stage 1

The starting point of the research is the experience of women: that of the researcher and the researched. The desire to research in this area of ESF funded vocational training for women was based on my own experience as the coordinator of such a scheme. I had already conducted a small research project which contrasted women's apparently positive 'educational' experience of such a project with what they described as negative schooling experience. The original intention was to extend this work by focusing on the women trainees' *needs* of the training scheme and to consider whether or not the funders actually met those needs.[48]

In considering the possible interview or questionnaire structure to use with the trainees, I reread the previous research project along with numerous trainee questionnaires, course evaluations and reports from the five years employment in the field. These pointed again and again towards the role of the 'worker', especially that of the 'instructor' or 'tutor'.[49] The focus therefore settled on the 'workers' and the extent of any role they might play in the design and running of a training scheme. The piloting of a loosely-structured interview method reinforced a previously unformulated interest in the extent, or not, of any notion of homogeneity existing within the 'worker' group. The interview schedule was amended accordingly. The research question, at the beginning of the case study work, was formulated as:

> "What were the workers' perceptions of the intentions and results of the training scheme for themselves, the funders and the trainees ?"

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[48] The title registered was: "To use life-history interviews to assess women's training schemes from the perspective of the women trainees, and to consider the extent to which the funders' intentions meet those needs."

[49] The 'workers' are those women employed by the local authority to work on these ESF schemes - either in management (co-ordinator; outreach workers); as teaching staff - instructors or tutors; administration and childcare. In this report the 'workers' unless otherwise specified refers only to management and teaching staff.

The research process begins with this question; there is no hypothesis to be tested; the starting point is the experience and understanding of the world, especially the training scheme, from the point of view of the women who work in it. This emphasis on the experience of the women and the degree of 'double consciousness' they bring to their responses, represents feminist methodologies' first point. (see p116/7)

Stage 2

The practical research began in the late 1980s as a case study based on an ESF funded training scheme for women, which focused, as did the majority at that time, on 'non-traditional' manual skills training.

The initial contact with the chosen training scheme was through two white women workers already known to me. This personal knowledge prior to the research had two quite clear consequences. Firstly it enabled the research to take place; secondly, it had unforeseen restrictive ramifications for the research.

These contacts enabled the research to take place primarily by 'validating my feminist credentials' - I was not an 'academic' 'using' them and their experience for my own ends. In practical and metaphorical terms they 'allowed me through the door'. However, there were restrictive consequences from having made these particular initial contacts, for it caused difficulties with the white coordinator and with black management workers.[50]

Eventually, I was successful in my approach to the white coordinator - partly due to having been the coordinator of a similar scheme myself. However, my attempts to contact black workers were unsuccessful: appointments were cancelled; phones calls were not returned. These difficulties are very similar to those described by the white feminist Rosalind Edwards (1990):

> "when I contacted black women through these (higher) educational institutions, *I* was that institution,

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[50] There were at this time no black instructors or tutors.

> defined as white, middle-class, and oppressive just by a letter, no matter what my sex." (Edwards 1990 p486)

Such a reaction was however reinforced by the particular situation which existed within the training scheme and which only became clear to me as a result of the interviews. At the beginning there were no grounds for anticipating such a consequence resulting from this initial contact.[51] The silence of black workers within the case study is clearly evident, and was a strong factor in determining the subsequent conceptual and document-based direction of the research.

This experience reflects the current debate within British feminism regarding the question of whether or not white researchers *should* attempt to include and interview black people, let alone the even thornier problems relating to the actual questions asked or the validity of the answers given.[52] The critique of some black feminists is that such studies "serve only to add 'cross-cultural' spice to predominantly ethnocentric work." (Amos & Palmer 1981 p129) Others point out that both the researcher and the researched are assumed white unless stated otherwise - that is, to be black is 'pathologically' placed in relation to 'white', just as 'woman' is generally pathologically placed in relation to 'man'. The argument is that white feminists should study the structures and institutions which promote racism, rather than 'study' black women themselves. However, as Edwards (1990) points out, this is no solution to those studies in which race plays a part, but where it is not itself the object of the study - as was the case in this particular research project, and which by necessity will become increasingly so within this multi-racial society. The absence of black women's voices within particular research studies can inadvertently perpetuate the risk of negating black women's presence, or of white women's voices filling the void and thereby being assumed, yet again, to speak for all women.

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[51] The subsequent study showed that 'race' was a major dividing force between the women participants of the training scheme: workers and trainees. A detailed consideration of this, can be found in Note 33.

[52] See for instance Riessman 1987; Carby 1982; Phoenix 1987; Lawrence 1981, 1982; Amos & Palmer 1981, Troyna & Carrington 1989.

In the end, attempts at reaching black workers having failed, the case study was finally based on lengthy loosely-structured interviews with six white women 'workers'. Three were 'management': two outreach workers and one coordinator; and three were 'instructors'. They were all involved as 'tutors' on the 'women's studies' programme and/or as personal-tutor to a small group of trainees.

The interview schedule was constructed as a 'checklist' and not as a set sequence of specific questions to be 'answered'. The main section of the interview related to four main areas:[53]

1. what the worker wanted to achieve; and what she thought she/they had achieved.
2. what the worker perceived as the funders' intentions and what she thought they achieved from it.[54]
3. what the worker thought the trainees hoped for, and what she thought they gained.
4. questions of 'difference' between all the women involved in the scheme.

These question areas came from knowledge gained from previous experience in the field and the background of reading around the area of vocational training, training project reports, trainee evaluation reports, feminist and educational theory. This knowledge was then considered with regard to the structural context in which the case study was to take place: in particular to the differing 'players' involved in the situation - namely, the European Community, the Local Authority (LA), the workers, the trainees and their cross-sectioning through differences of class, race, age, sexuality, economic viability and position within the training centre.

Consequently, the interview began by asking the woman to 'place' herself in terms of class, race, age, sexuality, work-position, education, and political identity. Some of these white women were clearly middle-class and well-educated, others had strong working-class backgrounds - all except one had gained higher education.

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[53] See Note 9 for the full interview schedule.
[54] 'Funders' was left to the worker herself to interpret as either the ESF or the Local Authority.

Some of the women were heterosexual and some were lesbian: some were in marriages or partnerships. All of these women had at some time been politically active: in the peace movement; the women's movement; the Labour party or the far left; or within the Trade Union movement. None of the women had disabilities. Some had children and some did not.

There were three reasons for the decision to include this question. The first was that it provided an 'opening' question - one which it was easy to respond to, and yet also encouraged the woman to reflect upon who she was, and what she considered important about herself. The second related to the recognition of differences between women: that apart from race and gender, they were not all the same. The third reason related directly to the research question: that in order to understand the perceptions of the workers regarding themselves, the funders and the trainees, it was necessary to know 'who they were', 'where they were coming from' to start with. This is basically a similar belief to that which advocates that the 'researcher' herself be 'known' firstly to the researched, and secondly, within the finished research, to the reader.[55] This knowledge of the 'researched' enables a more active engagement in the analysis of the interviews. The research started then with the experience of the white women workers. The funders and trainees were, at this stage, considered purely from the point of view of the workers.

In addition to the four specific question areas above, were added questions attempting to come at information from a different, more flexible angle. The first of these asked the woman to describe a typical working day: from getting up in the morning to returning home at night. This question was influenced by Smith's (1988) *The everyday world as problematic* and was included in order to gain a fuller understanding of the woman's working life. This was not a fruitful question: most women responded to it in a purely functional way, and it provided no new insights into their world of work. The second 'flexible' question originated mainly as an attempt to end

[55] In this respect, see the work of Berger & Luckman 1971.

the interview on a positive note. This question is a 'dream' question: What sort of training scheme would you create if you had both the opportunity and the resources ? This turned out to be a very interesting question. The first and most important point to make is that all of the women responded immediately and in depth - these thoughts were not new. They did, however, generally seem quite surprised, and pleased, at being asked. The second point to make is that the construction of their dreams involved, either explicitly or implicitly, a critique of the present training arrangements. Their responses, clearly articulating what *could* be attempted through women's vocational training, brought into stark relief that which was not being done. This 'dream' question did then provide the flexibility and the possibility for new insights as hoped.

Another main tenet of feminist methodology was identified as an emphasis on the *process* of research, particularly the relationship between the researcher and the researched. This relationship, based on ideas of 'conscious partiality' or a 'shared critical plane' has tended to stress the over-riding importance of gender, and the creation of a situation approaching that of an equal sharing of ideas, leading to the research itself becoming a shared enterprise.[56] This belief seems to assume that the power imbalance inherent within the interview situation can be effectively challenged. In the interviews with the white women workers of this case-study I shared race, gender and a recent work experience which was known to them. Sexuality and class were shared with some of the workers, and my disability with none. But over and above all this, I was the woman with the tape-recorder, the questions, the knowledge of the other interviewee's responses, the mental map into which all this fitted, and the power to divulge or not my own thoughts or experiences. Even if all the possible differences were shared, this imbalance of power in the interview situation itself would still remain. The very essence of the interview - that of the researcher

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[56] See for instance the following texts: Middleton 1983; Harding 1987; Lather 1988; Oakley 1981; Ribbens 1989; Smith 1988a, 1988b. Also see back to p118/122 for the full methodological discussion.

obtaining information from the researched, mitigates against such an idealistic egalitarian process.

Furthermore, the tape recorder and my control of it was a powerful third presence within the interview situation. Two very revealing conversations took place after the formal ending of the interview. In one of these I pointed out that the tape was still running. She thought and then said she didn't mind. In another interview, after this interviewee had been talking for a while without the tape recorder on, I asked if she would mind if I turned it on again, and she agreed. In yet another interview, an accident with the 'record' button meant that all of one side of the tape was lost. The subsequent repeat of this had both negative and positive aspects to it: the responses of the first tape were lost forever, but on the other hand, this woman talked at length about the way in which she had taken the time to think further about the questions and the issues raised by them.

A central aspect of this power imbalance focuses on trust and confidentiality. All of the interviews in this case study began with a statement of confidentiality. In all cases this assurance, like that recorded by Finch (1984), was initially easily accepted. However, in three of the interviews this was explicitly re-checked just before the interviewee disclosed information which could cause them problems. Two of these women worried about their co-workers hearing of this, and one woman was concerned that she continue to be seen as heterosexual. One of these interviewees, at a particularly sensitive part of the interview, needed repeated reassurance to enable her to continue. The amount of trust placed in the researcher and her discretion seemed at times quite remarkable.

Although the interview as an egalitarian process, as what Smith (1988a, 1988b) describes as a shared 'consciousness-raising' situation, is strongly disputable it can nevertheless lead to reflection and articulation of one's experiences and thoughts and can lead from there to new understanding and possible action to

improve the individual's present situation.[57] The interviewees of this case study, all seemed to take the interview as an opportunity to reflect on their experiences, and to greater or lesser extents, 'let-out' their feelings on the more controversial issues. Yet at no time did it seem to me to resemble either a 'consciousness-raising' situation or to be 'therapeutic' in nature. Whilst aware of calling on past counselling skills, affirming my listening and attention, and in as non-interventionist a way as possible encouraging the woman to expand on subjects or to link it back to something said previously, there was no engagement in attempting any kind of resolution to their experience, or of working towards action to be taken as a result of any such links.

On the other hand, as mentioned by Middleton (1983) and Oakley (1981), it did seem that the interview situation could be empowering. One interviewee stressed several times towards the end of the interview how she appreciated being able to talk to an 'outsider', and how "this interview will help me work my ideas out as well". The coordinator, the most isolated in her managerial role, had, despite the earlier difficulties of establishing contact, welcomed the interview opportunity to reflect and talk with an 'outsider' with no possible 'comeback' to her, and she said of the research project: "if you can do it - it's very valuable, and I doubt if anybody is looking at these things." On this very fundamental level it could be seen as a shared project. If this were a radical feminist project, then the case study would quite likely be written-up as an essentially 'descriptive' piece of research. In which case, further collaboration in the transcription and analysis of the interviews would have made some sense. But this research is located in a socialist-feminist perspective, with an intention of building, from the experience of women, a systematic explanation, a theory, to explain that experience rather than merely describe it.

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[57] Similarly, Middleton (1983) points to the possible therapeutic nature of the ethnographic interview, and likens the role of the interviewer to that of a counsellor. For a further consideration of the interview process and the researcher-researched relationship see Powney & Weiner 1991.

Following transcription, the interviews were analysed by a process of inductive coding. This method is necessarily linked to the general inductive approach of this research, and to its attraction to the process of grounded theory. Inductive coding is described by Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992) as being particularly useful

> "when the study is exploratory or when there is little theory informing the researcher about which responses to expect." (p323)

The process is one in which a coding scheme is drawn-up from representative responses to (mainly open-ended) questions. This coding scheme is then applied to the rest of the data. The coding scheme developed from these interviews had 9 main areas:

1. Research method.
2. The workers.
3. The funder's intentions.
4. The needs of the trainees.
5. The workers within the funding structure.
6. Management.
7. The 'issues'.
8. Achievements.
9. The 'dream'.[58]

The findings and analysis of the case study represented a cross-roads or roundabout within the research process. This inductive method of analysis produced many avenues down which the research could proceed. For instance, the case study itself could have been replicated within this country; a comparison could have been carried out by a case study in another EC Member State; there was also a turning which led to a closer analysis of the role of the Local Authority; there was another which could have focused on the management style. Then there were the trainees themselves, and the research could have concentrated on them, on what they say they want, and what they get, from the scheme. Finally, there was the road which led to a deeper consideration of the 'issues': the divisions which cut across the assumed commonality of gender: the case study giving a practical counterpart to the theoretical,

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[58] The full coding scheme can be found in Note 10.

academic, considerations detailed in the first half of this chapter.[59]

But, as Glaser and Strauss point out, within grounded theory, the stress is on the "emerging categories and the *relationship between them.*" (Glaser 1978 p284) In this case, despite the pointers towards all the other interesting and valid avenues for pursuing the research, the points repeatedly made, over and over again, by the workers, throughout all the categories, could be represented by one major question:

> Why did the funders fund this particular sort of training to these particular women, and why not something else ?

This emergent question determined the next stage and method of the research: the need to conduct a library-based documentary search into the funding policies of the ESF. The questions of validity and representativeness of the case study findings would be addressed through the future development of the research project.

This emergent direction to the third stage reinforced the location of the research within what was essentially a socialist-feminist perspective. As stated above, radical feminism was found not to engage sufficiently with non-gender issues. The case study highlighted the differences which existed between women at the training centre. Foucault provided the concepts whereby explanations for such difference might be developed. However, importantly, unlike radical feminism, socialist-feminism not only engaged with class and race as well as gender, but was also concerned with moving beyond mere description of women's experience towards the construction of theories which would explain, through an analysis of the relevant structures and processes, those experiences. This was the intention of this particular research project.

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[59] The consideration of these 'issues' whilst not being relevant to the subsequent direction of the research, is, because of its relevance to feminist epistemology, attached in Note 33.

Stage 3

This stage is a direct response to the "core of the emerging theory" as described by Glaser and Strauss. (1967 p40) It also highlights a particular feature of the feminist methodology which underpins this research. That is to say it underscores the point that feminist methodology represents a theoretical approach and not any particular method or even collection of methods.[60]

This and the following stage represent slightly different aspects of the use of secondary data. This stage concentrates on the legislative and interpretative documents of the European Commission and various departments and sub-bodies within it. It also uses similar documentation produced by the British Government, especially that of official reports, committee papers, and Department of Employment publications. The following stage which, as will be seen, develops out of the findings of this one, concentrates on an understanding of the position of women within the British and European labour markets. This 'labour-market' analysis relies totally on the research findings of data collected by others. The use of such data is upheld by conceptual, methodological and economic reasons. The following statement describing the conceptual possibilities of secondary data is highly applicable to the usefulness of the method for this particular research project:

> "In research on more contemporary issues ... the investigator searches through a wide range of materials covering different areas and eras, which may result in greater scope and depth than is possible with a single primary data research project. With such secondary analysis, we can better understand the historical context, and by analysing data collected in different times on similar issues, we can also describe and explain change. ... Secondary data may also be used for comparative purposes. Within and between nations and societies, comparisons may enlarge the scope of generalisations and provide insights." (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 1992 p292/3)

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[60] For instance, feminist methodology has frequently been linked, within the broad critique of inductive research in general, with the particular method of ethnography, and from this (mis)understanding it has subsequently shared a similar critique based on validity and representativeness. See p111[29] for a listing of the relevant texts.

With regard to this particular research project, it is unlikely that further case studies would have addressed the questions which the original case study generated. Such replication would have simply disproved or proved the extent or degree of that questioning. On the other hand, the use of secondary data made the conceptual analysis necessary for addressing these questions possible. The research into ESF and UK documents provided an historical analysis within which change could be identified and considered; furthermore, it allowed a far broader understanding of the issues already identified in the case study - thereby itself giving internal validity to the findings of the case study. The research into labour-market data also allowed for an historical analysis regarding any change in the position of women; and it allowed for both national and European analyses, thereby as quoted above, 'enlarging the scope of generalisations and providing insights' not only into the labour-market itself, but also reflecting back to the development of ESF policy and to the concerns expressed by the workers in the case study.

Methodologically, the use of secondary data allows for external replication - the same source data is easily available to other researchers. The analysis of the secondary data also served to validate the case study workers' observations on the funding process and led to the conclusion that their unease regarding the funders' intentions were seemingly, within the light of this data, justified. Thirdly, secondary data has economic justification: the extensive data used in these two stages could not have been obtained by any other means. It is the most economic way of providing a broad base of data for analysis.

The first step in this third stage of the research project was the identification and location of European Commission documents. A familiarization exercise consisted of a broad 'keyword' search of any guides, catalogues, indexes or databases which might possibly be relevant. The keywords were ESF, Objective 3, vocational training, women, equal opportunities, unemployment. Contact was also made

with relevant organisations such as the EC Equal Opportunities Unit, the Department of Employment ESF Unit, and the UK Women's Training Network. By this process the specific documentary needs became clear: ESF legislation - directives, initiatives and decisions; EC interpretation of ESF legislation - recommendations, guidelines, action programmes; other EC publications concerning the ESF, vocational training, and equal opportunities.[61] However, as becomes clear in Chapter 5 itself, it was not possible to obtain either national or European information on the exact nature of the training funded.[62]

Having located the relevant source documents, the second step was that of analysis.[63] Embedded as it was in the feminist methodology described earlier in this chapter, the analysis was concerned not only with what *was* said in these documents, and the way in which it was said, but also with locating those areas where women were marginalized in the texts, or completely absent. From within this feminist methodological base, the approach was a three pronged one. The first was historical: When was this published, in what form, what exactly did it say, and in whose name does it say it ? The second related to the actual process of interpretation of policy: What was the initial legislation, has it been modified, how has it been interpreted - by whom, when, and in what publication ? The third concentrated on any 'Reports' relating to the area - either prior to the legislation or interpretation, or as a subsequent evaluation of it. This entire approach relied on a fine textual analysis of the documents: the identification of single words omitted or inserted, or of any particular emphasis or stress, during either the process of time or of interpretation.

The 'emergent category' (Glaser and Strauss 1976) from this stage was that of the declared relevance of ESF vocational training to the

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[61] A full listing of these sources in contained in Note 11.
[62] See Note 12 for just such an explanatory letter received from the NOW co-ordinator, DG V of the EC.
[63] 'Relevant' refers to all those documents or publications from the above source list which made reference to the ESF (Objective 3), vocational training, women and equal opportunities.

needs of the labour market. Therefore the need to address this category determined the next stage of the research: the focus on the position of women in the labour market.

Stage 4

This stage relied totally on previous research, mainly survey, which had originally produced the findings for other reasons - often government sponsored, such as the Labour Force Surveys used in this research. This earlier research was not concerned with addressing the same issues as those generated in this particular research project, and therefore the specific data needed now was not easily locatable or straightforwardly usable, especially for comparison - either historically or inter-Member State.[64] Very often in order to gain the required information it was necessary to compile a table from the data spread out within one extremely large table, or from data scattered across several tables within one publication.

The first step of this stage was the same as stage 3: familiarization. The keywords were women; EC; UK; construction; new technology. A full listing of the documentary sources leading to the identification and location of publications is included in Note 13. The analysis of both the European and British data was again three-pronged. Firstly, it was historical: Had there been any significant change within either occupations or industries in the levels of employment of women - either numerically or as a percentage of the workforce ? Secondly, it was occupational: Were there identifiable occupations in which women were more likely to be located than in other occupations, and were there any additional temporal or spatial indicators ? Thirdly, it was hierarchical, based on a 'rates of pay' indicator: Given the assumption that pay relates to hierarchical status, are women identifiably located in any particular hierarchical position, and again are there any temporal, spatial or occupational differences ?

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[64] See the critique of Windebank regarding the analysis of European data: chapter 2 p57/8.

The analysis of this 'labour-market' stage of the research was essentially statistical: the data itself being, apart from the odd report, exclusively quantitative. The intention of the analysis was not however to produce further statistical analysis but to *interpret* the existing statistical information itself. Within the broad perspective of socialist-feminist theory, the analysis of the labour-market data is grounded in the gendered labour-market theories and concepts referred to in Chapter 2.

Conclusion.

The first section of this Chapter highlighted the feminist underpinning of this entire research project. It pointed to, and explicitly acknowledged, the necessary connection between the ontological positioning of the researcher, the placing of the research project within feminist epistemology and the choice of the particular perspective of socialist-feminism for the methodological framework of the research. These are the theoretical principles upon which the research project is based.

In the foreground of this theoretical structure, the second section of the Chapter has placed the sequential development of the research process itself: design, methods and analysis. This section points to the intrinsic linkage between the research process and the theoretical principles, which is evident throughout the study.

The final point to be made concerns the choice for this research not simply of feminist methodology in general, but of the particular perspective of socialist-feminism. Rather than reiterate the arguments surrounding the choice of a feminist methodology, the more interesting point seems to be that of the choice of this particular perspective over and above the others. The reasons, detailed in the first section, lie in its broad acknowledgement of historical and economic determinism, and in its intention to move feminist research beyond description into explanation based on a gendered, class and race analysis of the structures and processes which oppress women. That is also the intention of this particular research project.

CHAPTER 4

THE CASE STUDY.

Introduction.

Chapter 3 provided both the background to the case study, along with a methodological placing and evaluation of it. This Chapter concerns itself purely with an analysis of the data which resulted from the interviews.[1] In order to ease both the reading of the Chapter and the development of the analysis, many of the quotes (that is the voices of the women workers themselves), which are paraphrased in the body of the Chapter, are located in Appendix 1 and are individually referenced throughout. The data in this Chapter is the perception of the white 'workers' themselves:[2] it is *their* perception of the needs or intentions of the funders and trainees.

The case study produced a great deal of information, but this Chapter concentrates primarily on the dominant issues, that is the emergent generative category of questions which determined the direction and development of the research project. This category is that which focused on the aims and intentions of the workers, the trainees and the 'funders'[3], and the evaluation in the light of

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[1] In a few instances reference is also made to a documentary source providing the written thoughts of the first coordinator, who having already left the project and the region was not interviewed. Full bibliographical details of these documents are not provided, either in the main text or in the bibliography, for to do so would compromise confidentiality.

[2] 'Workers' are defined on p127[49]. The absence of black workers is discussed on p128/130.

[3] 'Funders' were either the Local Authority, or the European Social Fund, as defined by the interviewee. (see p130[54])

these intentions, of the achievements or results of the training project.

The Chapter is divided into seven sections. The first, through a brief introduction to the training project, provides the context within which to place the rest of the Chapter. The second, focuses on the self-identification of the workers.[4] The third section concentrates on the workers' own intentions for the training scheme. The fourth section looks at the workers' perceptions of the trainees' needs and ambitions. The fifth considers the achievements of the scheme for the trainees. The workers' perceptions of the funders forms the basis of the sixth section: aims, intentions and results. The final seventh section, concerned with the development of grounded theory, concentrates on the emergent question or tentative hypothesis determining the subsequent stage of the research. Interview quotations are referred to in the text either because they typify the analysis, or because they are at odds with the majority view: larger sections of quotations are located in Appendix 1. These quotations are therefore not intended as an exhaustive account of the entire data on this subject, but as representative of that data.

The training project.

The training project began in 1985. It was the initiative of the Local Authority's Economic Development Unit, and was jointly funded between themselves and the European Social Fund (ESF) as an Objective 3 innovatory project guaranteed three years' funding.[5] Their brief was to train up to 100 women for a minimum of 100 hours each in male dominated, 'non-traditional' manual skills - mostly related to the construction and renovation industry.[6] Their innovatory status was partly the result of the range of training offered, and partly due to the proposed links in the later stages of

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[4] The methodological reasoning for this can be found on p130/1.
[5] This represented the maximum funding for one application. The majority of other successful projects, unable to prove their innovatory nature, received one years funding per application.
[6] The areas of training were: carpentry; painting and decorating; plumbing; brick-laying; mechanical engineering; electrical engineering; HGV driving.

training with local Colleges of Further Education. At the beginning of 1988, as the ESF funding drew to a close, the Local Authority took the project onto 'mainstream', with a 'line management' through the Equal Opportunities Unit to the Clerks Office. This coincided with the departure of the first coordinator and the appointment of a new one. The interview schedule (Note 9) shows an interest in possible changes occurring from either the change in funding/administration or the coordinator. The interviews were conducted in the summer term of 1989.

The training took place in a building renovated through the ESF to be the Training Centre. It contained small workshops, non-manual teaching areas, social space and creche facilities. Childcare was free of charge. The trainees were paid a weekly allowance of £4 plus travel expenses. This did not affect any state benefit entitlement. The courses were run during school hours. The first year of the training took place within this Centre. Subsequent training for the relevant City and Guilds qualification took place in the Colleges of Further Education with ongoing contact and support from the Centre.

The workers.

The workers were all aged in their mid to late thirties; all were white: five English, one Irish. Three were instructors, two were outreach workers and one the coordinator. The skill areas of the instructors were plumbing, mechanical engineering and brick-laying. The two outreach workers are two of the original three workers employed on the scheme. Two of the instructors were amongst the first appointed, the third had worked on the project for almost two years. The coordinator had been in post for eighteen months.

Five of the six women were or had been married; four had children; five described themselves as lesbian; all were 'able-bodied'. Two described themselves as middle-class. Three had degrees, three were qualified social workers, one experienced in community work. In responding to these 'self-identity' questions the interviewees often

linked their responses directly to the aims of their work and their relationship with the trainees. A significant area for this linkage was the identification of their class and/or educational background.[7] For instance,[8] instructor 'V' believed class and education to be the main divisive factor in her relationship with trainees and some workers. She did not consider her sexual preference, her race, or her non-traditional skill area as being particular points of fracture: for her it was class and education. On the other hand, worker 'Y', who described herself as "white, working-class, lesbian, feminist", linked her own struggle with that of the trainees; as did the white working-class heterosexual worker 'U'.

Each interviewee's statement of politics is quoted in Note 15. Their politics, whilst only occasionally explicit, are nevertheless evident throughout the case study. Various shades of broadly defined feminist belief and activism are evident in these political self-descriptions. Three of these accounts point directly to the linkage between their political belief and their work. Furthermore, these accounts also point towards a shared conception of two basic feminist beliefs: the importance of women's economic independence - which runs through this study; and a critique of male violence - which is considered within the detailed analysis of the Training Centre. (Note 33)

Intentions and achievements of the workers.

The workers' responses regarding their intentions and/or aspirations for the training project fell into two main categories: their personal aspirations; and those relating directly to the trainees.

Firstly, their personal aspirations. All the workers emphasised integrating their politics with their work. Three emphasised working with women, and three hoped for political or social change. This woman typifies such broad political aspirations:

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[7] For a discussion of the interplay between definitions of class and educational background see p119[38].
[8] See Note 14.

> "I get a lot out of it myself, because I feel that I'm putting my political feminist views, and I'm actually doing something with them instead of just spouting them out. Instead of just saying society should change, I'm actually trying to change it in the job I do, so I feel quite fulfilled." (Z)

Secondly, the workers' aspirations for the trainees.[9] These fell into three main areas: those connected specifically with non-traditional skill training; eventual employment and economic independence; broader educational concerns.

The three instructors' aspirations relate most directly to the manual skills being taught. All three tell of the difficulties they experienced in learning and practising their skills in male dominated environments. The instructors had all struggled, as individual women, in male-dominated sections of FE Colleges, and they had little respect for the FE teaching given to their trainees compared with that provided directly by themselves during the first year of their training. The instructors were particularly frustrated by the FE male instructors who did not share their own underlying feminist-political intentions and aspirations.

Two main aims of the instructors were firstly, to pass on their 'hard-earned' knowledge, and secondly, to reduce the isolation of women working in non-traditional manual skill areas. These instructors are the deliverers of the actual skill-training, and as such, their comments, attached in Note 16, concerning manual skills training are particularly relevant.

> "For myself there was the whole thing around training other bricklayers because part of the problem with being a bricklayer, a woman bricklayer, is that you're completely isolated. .... What I wanted was to be able to go in with such enthusiasm for my trade, and pass that on, basically. I wanted women to see that brickwork wasn't something so difficult that they couldn't contemplate doing it, and I wanted them to be excited about it the way I am." (X)

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9 Because the intentions and aspirations of the workers are so intrinsically tied-up with their perception of the trainees' needs, the consideration of the achievements of these intentions are included together in section five.

Although the instructors had autonomy for the content and style of their teaching, they spoke of being restricted by their particular pre-FE role. They all wanted accreditation so that they themselves could deliver the entire City and Guilds training programme.

Further light was thrown on the manual skills training through the workers' responses to the 'dream' question.[10] There were two main approaches to this. The first approach concerned changing the training focus of the provision. Several women shared a 'dream' of a 'foundation course', which would offer non-traditional manual skills as just one option amongst many. This built on the general underlying importance of the 'first step' provision of the training scheme.

The second approach focused on improving the non-traditional manual skills training already being provided. Any suggestion of a move to training in more traditional skill areas was equally divided between the interviewees - three for it, and three against. Furthermore, even those who supported it only wanted it in *addition* to the existing non-traditional provision, not instead of. Some women mentioned adding the skills of an electrician or a plasterer to the construction skills already offered, and several also talked of expanding the definition or the scope of non-traditional skills to include such skills as computing, horticulture or others resulting from a direct response to the specific needs of the region.

The two construction skills instructors had strong ideas regarding the actual method of training, preferring a smaller number of trainees on a woman-led apprenticeship scheme which would include extensive site experience. The present lack of site-based work-experience was identified by several workers as a considerable defect. Note 17 contains an extract from an interview which provides the most detailed and passionate 'dream' for non-traditional manual skills provision, as well a simultaneously strong critique of the existing provision.

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[10] For details regarding this question see p131/2.

The message contained throughout the workers' responses, and made very clear in their 'dreams' is that firstly, broader or traditional training should also be offered; and secondly, the way in which non-traditional manual skills training is presently provided is not the best way.

In some contrast to the 'manual skills' focus of the instructors, the 'management' workers' broader perspective saw such skill training as essentially a route to other training or employment. For instance:

> "My intention was never just to get a woman into the scheme because she wanted to be a motor mechanic, ... but in the early stages it was like women having a focus to train. And then perhaps the first term at college, to sort of say 'I want to be a secretary', you know, or, 'I want to be an advertising manager', or 'I want to run my own business'. So I never saw it directly linked to women coming and going out into non-traditional skills, although that was the objective." (Y)

Yet, despite the enthusiasm of the instructors for 'non-traditional' manual skills training, they too had come to share the belief of the 'management' workers that the scheme should also enable women to move and change in many other ways as well.

A second significant finding regarding the workers' aspirations for the trainees was the unified importance given to their eventual employment and economic independence, succinctly expressed by the following workers:

> "I wanted to give women economic independence because I actually do see that as being the nub of the whole thing. Whilst women and children are dependent on men they're never going to get anywhere." (U)

> "I thought women would get good jobs as a result of (the training scheme) ... Because there were real jobs at the end of this, so that was one of the key features of why I wanted to do the job." (Y)

The workers' third group of aspirations were directly linked with their broader educational intentions. By creating a positive learning environment for the women, general concepts of liberal

adult education could be encouraged. The following extract is indicative of such educational aspirations:

> "Predominantly it was to create an environment where women who perhaps had not had the best chances to start with, could suddenly come into the situation where things would be explained, where they could grow, and learn a skill that was going to enable them to motivate change in their own lives - that's what the basic ethos was about.
> *Is this what the funders wanted as well ?*
> Not for the funders, no, this is just a personal perspective." (Y)

The workers pointed to the crucial factor in the make-up of this environment as being the early decision made by the three original workers to employ only *women* instructors. One of the first of the instructors appointed, stressed:

> "I wanted it to be us to do it. I really wanted it to be women who knew about it to do it. Not men teaching it, and not women who could maybe teach other things, transferring their skills to manual trades." (V)

The first coordinator explained the rationale for this in the 1986 training project's annual report:

> "Trainees could see that other women had 'made it'; to ensure that women trainees were not patronized or sexually harassed and to ensure that instructors identified as much as possible with the trainees situations."

The workers also pointed to the Local Authority's "lack of interest" in the internal workings of the project, either the internal management, or the teaching programme - the curriculum or its implementation. For instance:

> "The workers decide the training. Anything which goes up to County Hall is all about the structure of the scheme. I don't think they've ever seen a training programme as such." (W)

The original workers and the later appointees all stressed the importance of the first three appointees in laying both the broad educational and the vocational training foundations: the original ethos of the scheme being determined, within the imposed funding structures, by them. Several workers believed it was their own political commitment which kept the scheme going. They all talked

of their broad educational 'empowering' aims. One outreach worker likened herself to a mid-field football player, a 'play-maker', someone whose job it was to feed the ball to the other players. She saw her task as being one of helping the trainees realize their own potential. Another instructor spoke of the way in which her feminist politics informed her broader educational aims. (Note 16)

A major decision made by these original management workers was to run 'women's studies' sessions as well as the manual skills training and basic education sessions. Within the first six months, what had originally been called 'personal and study skills days' had been changed to 'women's studies'. Several of the women spoke explicitly of a definite political intention behind this decision to run 'women's studies'. (Note 16) Six months after the start of the project, the first coordinator drew up a list of the aims and objectives of the 'women's studies' section of the course. (Note 16) As she remarks at the start of this document, such a statement of aims and objectives does not otherwise exist.[11] These references to the training process: both manual skills and 'women's studies' show that the broad feminist perspective of the instructors is acknowledged in their work. In some cases this is explicitly acknowledged, and in others implicitly identifiable in their overall general approach.

Unlike the manual skills training which must, eventually, merge with FE Colleges and male instructors, this additional element, 'women's studies', is, as indicated above, more fully controlled by the workers. The picture of women's studies gained from the interviews is that these sessions cover a very wide range of topics: such as filling in application forms and practising job interviews; sessions to meet a trainee cohort's particular needs (past examples being

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[11] These aims and objectives relate to the 'Women's Studies' modules and not explicitly to the manual skills training itself, although as the data shows, it implicitly related to the entire *process* of the training programme. It will however, be seen that this emphasis on process is quite different from the funders' concern with outcome. The funders' aims, as agreed in the LA/ESF contract detailed above, was quantitative in its requirements and futuristic in its intentions: that is employment at the end of the course. (p143/4)

weight-training; self-defence); through to what were seen as the contentious issues of racism and sexual preference. The workers spoke of disagreement over the specific content of women's studies: some believed it's role was explicitly to 'raise consciousness' and address contentious subjects, and others thought it simply "stirred up trouble .. (and) made matters worse".(U)

The less contentious intention underlying this aspect of 'women's studies', related to work placements, or College attendance, where it was anticipated that trainees would meet racism, sexism and homophobia. It was hoped, by the workers, that having previously discussed these issues within the 'supportive atmosphere' of women's studies, the trainees would stand more chance of withstanding and even contesting such attitudes. Note 16 contains an extensive quote from one instructor who responded, at the end of the interview, to the 'Is there anything else you would like to add ?' question, by talking at length on the subject of women's studies. Even though there was some disagreement on the question of degree, there was general agreement amongst the workers that the importance of women's studies lie in its ability to politicise and empower. There is stress laid, in their responses, on the fact that women's studies is a result of the workers' own intentions and not that of the funders, either LA or ESF.

In analysing the workers' responses relating to their aims and intentions, a dual category emerges: short-term and long-term. The first, the short-term, relates to the actual experience gained from the training course itself. The aim here is to provide a positive supportive learning environment which includes, although not exclusively, the manual-skills training. The data showed that the Local Authority gave almost total autonomy to the workers for the curriculum and teaching style - albeit within financial and public-relations constraints. The manual skills training is the responsibility of the individual instructor who is constrained only by the level of training provided and City and Guilds requirements. Women's studies is the construct of the workers and is firmly

grounded in their broad feminist and socialist background and self-identities outlined at the beginning of this chapter.

This broad feminist approach to empowerment shares similarities with that of Freire who stresses the importance of the educationally empowering *process*:

> "Each project constitutes an interacting totality of objectives, methods, procedures, and techniques. The revolutionary project is distinguished from the rightist project not only by its objectives but also by its total reality. A project's methods cannot be dichotomized from its content and objectives, as if methods were neutral and equally appropriate for liberation or domination." (Freire,1985, p83)

The meaning of this is that the policy intentions of the funders alone are not necessarily empowering or politicizing - but it is the *methods*, and crucially, the *intention or belief* behind the methods, which makes the process potentially 'revolutionary'. The Local Authority's apparent lack of interest in the content or process of the training actually creates a relatively well-funded space in which these broader political feminist intentions of the workers can become part of the training process.

The second emergent category is the long-term intention of the training, that is, the hoped for result. For the workers this is that the trainees gain paid employment and economic independence. However, unlike the aim of the funders, this is not restricted to the aim of employment in occupations of non-traditional manual skills. These intentions of the workers, both short and long-term alike, are far broader than the basic numerical, essentially construction skills orientated, vocational contract between the LA and the ESF referred to above.

The trainees.

The workers' perceptions of the needs and aspirations of the trainees fell into two categories: the short-term relating to their time on the course, and the long-term relating to their hopes for the future. The workers also considered the trainees' relationship

to the non-traditional manual skills training itself. A composite profile of the trainees can be found in Note 18.

The workers identified the short-term needs of the trainees as being firstly the need for some, or any, sort of training or supportive provision. Five workers explicitly stated that they thought the trainees saw the project as the only 'opportunity' available to them, and so they took it - irrespective of the actual training being offered. These comments from the workers can be found in Note 19. The possible extent of 'opportunism' - what was seen as some trainees' lack of interest in the actual manual skills being taught, was believed by some workers to represent a particular problem for the project.

In response to the 'dream' question the majority of the workers specifically emphasised a need for tighter targeting of trainees - this was particularly so with the instructors of construction trade skills. One worker advocated research to find out the particular needs of particular groups of women - especially in relation to the needs of the local labour market. Another believed there was a strong case to be made for a 'black women only' training course.

The workers also referred to the specific 'material' needs of the trainees whilst on the course.[12] Several spoke of the trainees needing a great deal of non-training related support. Some saw their role as being to support the trainees in whatever ways necessary, and some wanted to emphasise the training aspect:

> "I wanted it to be a training scheme and not a crisis centre, or a social work centre, but at the same time you can't stop it - you know it's like a lot comes out and it has to be tackled." (W)

One worker believed such training courses should have a resident therapist or counsellor - for both the workers and the trainees.

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[12] The workers' perceptions of the quality of life of many white and black working class women, whilst clearly relating to the feminist epistemological concerns of Chapter 3, nevertheless raise questions relating to capitalism and patriarchy far deeper than can be considered in this study.

The workers' comments on their perceptions of the immediate needs of the trainees contained in Note 19 identify a major need of many trainees as being that caused through loneliness and isolation. Such loneliness was often mentioned alongside a general desire for respect. A further major immediate need of many trainees was that of childcare. In answer to the question 'What do you think the trainees want ?', one worker, without hesitation, answered simply:

> "Childcare costs." (W)

And another, equally emphatically, said:

> "The ones with young children, they want the creche and childminding facilities." (V)

All the workers mentioned childcare as being a definite and important immediate need of the trainees.

The trainees' long-term hopes and aspirations for the future were perceived unanimously by the workers as being that of future paid employment. The workers stress the trainees' hope and desire for "something better" for themselves (U), along with what they see as the trainees' belief that the training project will give them that chance. The workers' comments also show that they, the workers, tend to think the trainees' employment ambitions are "unrealistic" and "naive".[13]

In considering the trainees' relationship to the non-traditional manual skills training, the workers doubted the extent to which the trainees specifically wanted to become skilled manual workers. All of the workers thought the specific nature of the training was only important to a minority of the trainees. The three instructors, in particular, had clearly been disappointed by this. One instructor's 'dream' was of a 'women's college' which, focusing on a broader definition of non-traditional skill areas, would also include relevant GCSEs as well as the manual skill.

The analysis of these perceptions of the trainees leads to several questions. Firstly, was this the best type of provision for meeting the immediate material needs of the trainees, and to what extent was

[13] These comments regarding employment can be found in Note 20.

this an intention of either the funders or the workers ? Of particular relevance to this is the identified importance of childcare, and the trainees' possible 'opportunism' in joining the training project primarily to gain free childcare. Improved 'choice' of education or vocational training could only be begun if other courses and establishments offered similar childcare provision.

Secondly, the comments of the workers raise a question concerning the emphasis on non-traditional manual skills training, and the suitability, especially of such exclusively supported training, to these particular women. The workers point to the actual skill training itself being the least important aspect to the trainees.

Thirdly, detectable in many of the workers' responses is a distinct change in their reaction to the employment aims of the scheme, which prompts a question regarding the suitability of the training for the particular labour market. When relating their own enthusiasm on joining the project, they too wanted the trainees to gain employment as a result of the training. However, later, when considering their perception of the trainees' own ambitions, they point to the trainees being "unrealistic" and "naive" in their expectations or aspirations for a job.

So, given its exclusivity, is this the most appropriate training to offer ? This is to say, given the same degree of personal support, childcare, financial backup, woman-friendly teaching, consideration given to school days and terms et cetera, would these women continue to choose non-traditional skill training if there were other options available ?

Achievements for the trainees.

The workers' responses to questions relating to 'achievements' were confined primarily to what they believed they achieved for the trainees. The workers pointed to the achievements for themselves as

being "very nice jobs" (X), general satisfaction and the ability to merge their politics with their work.[14]

The previous section showed the workers' perceptions of the trainees' needs and aspirations as falling into one of two main areas: immediate needs - material and emotional, and future employment aspirations. Their responses regarding 'achievements' can be similarly classified. Furthermore, the identification of achievements simultaneously identifies areas of failure.

Regarding the trainees' individual immediate material needs such as childcare and financial assistance, some of the workers perceived a dissatisfaction from the trainees.

> "They want more money out of it. .... I think the trainees feel they don't get enough support with childcare .. on-site creche, but it will only take their children during lessons. Our women have to take their kids at lunchtime ... they've got to use their lunchtime - when they want to sit and have a cup of coffee, maybe sit and think over what they've done." (U)

This worker whilst accepting that such provision was not perfect nevertheless pointed out that it was considerably "better than nothing" and much better than most other adult training provision. Despite any reservations or criticisms of the level of childcare provision or financial support, several of the workers doubted the participation of the trainees without it.

The workers' comments included in Note 21 show them believing the trainees' immediate emotional needs to be well met by the training project. The importance of the broad educational process, and its underlying political intentions, are evident in these comments. These extracts also show that the educational emphasis is on the trainees' experience and understanding of the world as 'women'. The speed and the depth of this process is shown in the example, included in Note 21, of an introductory session on the first morning of the course. However, the comments of other workers show the

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[14] See specifically the comments of workers Z, Y, and V, in Note 15.

struggles occurring between women (trainees and workers) over issues of sexual preference, race and class/educational privilege. [15]

Another emergent category in the responses of the workers relating to the immediate emotional needs of the trainees, was that which centred around the broad educational aspect of the training project. All the workers stressed the importance of the 'woman-friendly' teaching style. This, they believed, was particularly important considering that the trainees had left school at the earliest age possible and with no or very few qualifications.[16]

The instructors specifically refer to the confidence gained by the trainees when they realize they *can do something*. Instructors' comments relating to this process of gaining confidence are located in Note 22. These comments show worker 'Z' pointing to the trainees' increased self-consciousness through the acquisition of a specific manual skill. However, worker 'X' points to the fallibility of this process, that some women, "through trying something and failing" have less confidence at the end of the course than they did at the beginning. This is also the strongly expressed view of worker 'Y' who, in describing the linear process of the training, from Centre to FE College, stresses the negative impact of the decreasing support on the trainees, seeing it as yet another rejection in their lives. Worker 'X' also pointed to the possible domestic problems and violence incurred by women who try and break out of their traditional role simply by taking part in the training project. The following extract encapsulates most of the aspects which the other workers also referred to.

> "I think some of them (trainees) don't realize what they're up against and are disappointed, so they come in really excited and raring to go, sure that they can cope with this, and do that - and six months later they're defeated by circumstances - it's never usually anything to do with the course, it's nearly always either marital, health or something to do with the kids . ... There's one at the moment - the DHS are messing her about so much, she's not getting any money, and that's

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15 Again see Note 21. For a deeper analysis of these struggles between women see Note 33.

16 See the trainee profile located in Note 18.

> just adding to everything else. Another one, her husband said it's either me or the training, I'm not going to stand it any more. So, that's the negatives. And the other negative - yeah, just how long it takes before they earn this magical amount of money. ... Also, I don't think they realize how much they're going to have to question things and think." (V)

This comment ties in with other workers' references to the 'drop-out' from the training. One worker pointed out that trainees seldom give the workers a reason for dropping-out and this worker felt that when they did, it was not the full reason. She added that these reasons are rarely recorded. Another worker stressed the 'knock-on' effect of trainee drop-out, stating that the drop-out from a particular intake affects the ability of the remaining trainees to carry on, as their 'peer' support drains away, especially during the transition to College.

The analysis of these responses regarding the achievements of trainees' immediate material needs showed that the attempt to meet them, whilst considered better than that provided by most other institutions, could not in itself compensate for the relative poverty of these working-class women. It was clear from these accounts that the training project does not exist in a protective bubble; the workers' comments refer to the material realities of these working-class womens' lives, showing both their class and their gendered oppression: economic poverty or highly restrictive income, and the emotional and physical restraints of some of the trainees' male partners.

The analysis of the achievements of trainees' immediate emotional needs were linked by the workers to the broad educational process of the training project. The trainees' need for social contact and sense of 'belonging' are met not only by the sheer fact of 'being there', but also through their realization of the commonality of many 'problems' and through a general raising of political consciousness and basic empowerment. As well as discovering their individual strengths and abilities, they also discover those held by

other women and by the group as a whole, enabling them to provide help and support to each other.

In meeting these immediate emotional needs of the trainees, the workers are also fulfilling one of their main immediate aspirations for the trainees - that is the empowering and politicising aim of the project. For instance the educational emphasis was clearly on the trainees' own experience and understanding of the world as 'women': the reality of what it means to be a woman with these problems - and the extent to which the problems are because of being women.

The question asked of the workers was a general request for what they considered to be the achievements of the scheme. They chose what they considered to be important, and it was this area of seeing trainees 'grow', of understanding their individual reality through wider issues, and of increasing their ability to survive and to change, which was the area the workers talked about most, and most passionately.

The trainees' aspirations for future paid employment converge with the initial aims of the workers - particularly the instructors - to train women for employment in manual occupations relevant to their training.

In considering the achievement of future employment, several workers were torn between what they saw as positively meeting the immediate needs of the trainees, and the dilemma resulting from those trainees not gaining subsequent employment.

> "Some women did get well paid jobs in traditional male jobs; a lot of women got confidence and skills - not in the accepted job way, but they got loads and loads from the training scheme. There's no way I want to knock it. But there's lots of women disappointed by the training scheme." (Y)

In general the workers' responses to this question showed a basic disillusionment and dissatisfaction with the schemes' inability to achieve these aims.[17] This instructor said:

> "It's so frustrating working there and knowing they're not interested any more, in what we're doing, in what I'm doing. They're not interested in bricklaying." (X)

This feeling of disillusionment amongst the workers was not only in regard to paid employment in non-traditional manual skill areas, but also with regard to more broadly defined paid employment.

Another worker, in response to the final interview question of 'Is there anything else you'd like to add, or talk about ?', replied:

> "You know, really, I just feel quite bleak about it now. *As a training scheme, or your personal involvement in it ?*
> Both. Both." (W)

In their consideration of the future employment aspect of the training the workers commented on the non-traditional manual skills focus of the training. These extracts are located in Note 24. The indication from the workers, for instance that of 'V', is that it is only a minority of trainees who are really, specifically, interested in pursuing the manual skills training offered. In response to the 'dream' question this worker remarked:

> "I think I would stop pretending that the target group of women that we've got is about to achieve the targets that the scheme sets them, because I think it does cause a lot of anxiety - for the trainees, sense of failure, disappointment." (V)

Workers 'Y' and 'U' spoke explicitly about their own role in 'encouraging' women to believe in the prospect of paid employment resulting from the training. They point out that although they did not exactly *promise* the trainees jobs, nevertheless they believed

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[17] Although the interviewees themselves were unable to directly provide quantitative data relating to trainees eventual employment, a later publicity document provided employment, further training, and drop-out figures for 1990-91. These are included in Note 23. Bibliographical details are not provided, for to do so would compromise confidentiality.

that their initial enthusiasm created an optimistic impression of an employable future. Concerning those trainees who did complete the full training and who gained their final City and Guilds trade qualification, the instructors particularly spoke of the difficulties they had in obtaining full-time paid employment within the trade. For instance, instructor 'X' recalls one women trained to be a plumber but who subsequently adapted her training towards possible employment in work "predominantly with lead, with fancy glass work". Another instructor remarks:

> "It's very difficult to get a job. In fact there's more opportunity to get a job in teaching it, rather than doing it." (Z)

Some workers were criticised for wanting to employ ex-trainees as instructors. Three other workers echoed the following sentiments regarding the lack of work experience offered the trainees.

> "At the minute we've got two xx instructors, one of whom's just passed her City and Guilds - and the only work experience she's had are jobs which the instructors which she had took her out on. The other one has just failed her City and Guilds and has even less experience." (X)

The analysis of the workers' responses regarding their aims, and the trainees' aspirations, for future employment pointed to the differing starting points of the trainees. For some, the training project is a vital first stepping stone enabling them to discover and access the sort of training they would have preferred in the first place, had it been available with the same support. And for some, the training offered really is what they want. This prompts the question: To what extent was this the type of training wanted by the trainees ?

In addition to this question, the workers' responses also generated the following dominant point. They raised serious questions regarding the central aim of the scheme: to train women in non-traditional skills - from a starting position of gender-induced ignorance, and with three years workshop-based training, to a position where they can successfully compete with experienced men

for jobs within an overwhelmingly male dominated construction and building renovation industry.

Whilst, generally speaking, it could be seen that the immediate needs of the trainees were met, this is not so in the case of their future employment needs. Furthermore their likely failure to obtain such training related employment raises a question regarding the extent to which the project compounds any past educational or employment failures they might have. The sister question to this is whether more choice regarding training in other areas - a different focus to the training - might actually meet these future employment needs as well as continuing to meet their immediate material and emotional needs.

The funders.

The workers' responses to the questions concerning the funders' intentions tended to concentrate on the Local Authority rather than the European Community.

The workers' perceived the funders' explicit aims as being the training related future employment of the trainees. This was seen by them as being intrinsically linked with the choice of the training offered: that of non-traditional manual skills. The particular choice of this area of training was also seen to be part of the Local Authority's equal opportunities policy.[18] The workers' responses and evaluation of the training areas and the linked question of employability is considered more fully in their responses regarding the achievement of these aims.

Five workers referred directly to the ESF's 'equal opportunities' policy and, what they identified as, its linkage with non-

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[18] This perceived linkage is borne out by a Local Authority publicity leaflet relating to the 1992/3 County Accounts, under the section of 'Equal Opportunities' states: "The County Council is providing training opportunities for women to train for a job - jobs such as joinery, bricklaying and plumbing which are not traditionally open to them." Full bibliographical details are not provided, for to do so would compromise confidentiality.

traditional skills. The extracts from each of these women is located in Note 25.

In response to questions regarding the intentions of the funders, the workers chose mainly to answer in terms of what they perceived as being the funders' *covert* intentions. These responses generated four main points: the 'lure of ESF money'; the 'careerist role of individual councillors'; political 'kudos'; and finally, the institutionalisation of feminist activists. These categories are artificially separated in this introduction, for in the workers' actual responses they constantly interweave with each other.[19]

Three women specifically referred to the 'lure' of the ESF money and to the local authorities' apparent opportunism in accessing it.

> "I think they set it up in the first place because this money was available from Europe." (U)[20]

Another worker added:

> ".. ultimately what we're talking about, is the ESF being there with a lot of money. ... I think what happened was that somebody there at County Hall probably twigged in that there was a lot of money in the ESF and that they could present a scheme that would enhance the quality of life of some people in (the city), but also bring a building, a very prestigious building; they could get a lot of money out the ESF." (Y)

Contained in this extract is a reference, repeated by several of the workers, to what was seen as the contentious renovation of a 'prestigious' city centre building.[21]

All of the workers pointed specifically to one woman councillor as being the instigator of the project. Other individual councillors were later involved. Four workers directly mentioned the project

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19 Cockburn (1991) includes a Local Authority as one of the case studies in her research into the reactions of men and 'man-led' organizations to equal opportunities. She, like Eisenstein (1991), also considers the internal organizational struggles of 'femocrats'.
20 A copy of an initial explanatory letter, dated July 1983, from the DE to the LA can be located as Note 26.
21 This building was eventually sold in 1989. For further comments regarding the acquisition and renovation of this building see Note 27.

serving the careerist ambitions of particular councillors. For instance,

> "Initially, right back in the beginning, I think it was A's little baby, and I think it was for her and her political career, and she happened to find out there was the European Social Fund and if we got the application in quickly we'd get the money, and she went ahead with it without any consultation, any discussions with anybody around who was working in the trades, and basically ended up setting this thing up with little or no knowledge of needs, no research into it all, nothing. .... A, she doesn't let go of things easily, and a lot of it seems to be scoring points off B. Her and B have this real hate relationship. He's Economic Development and he wants any Labour backed projects in the county; he wants to be seen to be behind them, and he can't be behind this one because it's A's, so she hangs onto it." (X)

Yet, at the same time as expressing their criticisms of individual councillors the workers also stressed that the project's continuation depended on these same individual councillors' continued active support.[22]

The aspect of the 'councillor careerism' which was most referred to was that of lack of consultation during the preliminary stages. This criticism was strongly felt by all the workers: the instructors felt they personally had experience to offer; and the management workers felt that the project could have been better set-up and the initial problems overcome if the councillors had consulted with women who had experience either of manual trades or of similar training schemes.[23] The workers' criticisms of the set-up of the project continued on to the LA's appointment of the original three management workers. This criticism was equally strongly made by the remaining two original management workers as well as by the later appointed instructors and the second coordinator. They point out that neither they, nor the first coordinator, had any previous experience in either non-traditional manual trades nor in general (non-social work) education or vocational training provision. These

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[22] A consideration of women politicians, the positive and negative gendered effects of their role, can be found in Messinger (1987); in particular see p.324.

[23] There were for example manual skills training projects for women already being run in Glamorgan and London.

three women were responsible for equipping the Centre; recruiting further staff; designing the syllabus and targeting and recruiting trainees, and the response of this particular worker is typical of the workers' general feeling on this matter.

> "They (the LA) had no idea. I don't think they had a bloody clue. You don't have a training scheme without instructors in it. ..... Well, why did they appoint women who didn't have that knowledge - that's a wicked think to do - it was so wrong." (W)

The perceived third covert intention of the funders emerging from the workers' responses was that of 'political kudos'. All the workers perceived this to be a major intention of the Local Authority. These extracts are located in Note 28. Worker 'Y', concluded that, by obtaining what were seen as huge sums of money from Europe, the LA gained "a certain amount of kudos" which, as well as bringing possible electoral benefits, was also "easy money".

Worker 'Z' also mentioned this electoral aspect, reflecting the general cynicism identifiable throughout the workers' responses. This apparent mistrust of the LA's motives was most strongly expressed in relation to their explicit intention of providing training leading to employment. Worker 'U' encapsulates the comments made by all the workers concerning the Local Authority's intentions regarding the projects' likelihood of success, and its future viability. She states that the project was only ever intended as being short-term - that the LA was only interested in the kudos to be gained from setting-up the scheme: it was never intended to succeed or to continue.

However, given its continuing existence, the workers point out that the LA did continue to make use of its publicity potential by using any opportunity to take photographs of trainees, or hold receptions,

such as after the Fawcett Society Award,[24] or during the 1992 General Election Campaign.[25] The workers were not totally critical of such publicity, believing instead that it was generally useful as well as being a necessary means towards placating the Opposition Group. The workers also point out (Note 28) that, at the same time as the LA used the project for any possible electoral publicity, it was also concerned to prevent any 'negative' publicity from spilling out. The workers identified this 'negative publicity' as being that seen by the LA to connect with race or homophobia.[26]

Finally, four of the workers mentioned a fourth possible covert intention of the Local Authority. These workers suspected the LA of using the training project as a justification against supporting other local women's projects. This feeling is expressed in the following extract:

> "They definitely support (this training project) when they don't support other womens' schemes. There was applications for quite small sums of money, for a whole range of women's groups, and a fairly large application from us, and we got it, and then they said there was no more money left. So, one hidden motive could be that if they've got their own women's scheme that they control, then they don't have to keep giving out £500 to a refuge there, and a bit of money to start up a playgroup here, and things like that. They were better off supporting us because they could come down and tell us what to do." (V)

There is a suspicion amongst some of the workers that the Local Authority is containing workers' energy within the project over which they have control, whilst at the same time restricting or reducing the funding of more autonomous projects. These workers

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24 This was a nationwide competition held in 1989 which invited women's training schemes to enter. Worker 'V' told how the project, along with all the other women's training schemes who put in for it, won the award. "We got no money out of it; it cost money to do it, photographs et cetera." On gaining the award, a 'sherry reception' was laid on, to which the local press and dignitaries were invited.

25 Glenys Kinnock had officially opened the Training Centre in 1985. She returned to the Centre during the 1992 General Election Campaign.

26 More attention to these issues, both within the Training Centre, and in its external relationships, is contained in the detailed analysis of these particular extracts in Note 33.

point out that, in terms of the electorate, they are "still seen to be doing something for women". (W)

The analysis of these responses concerning the funders' intentions indicate that, apart from the funding restrictions laid down by the ESF, they themselves relate almost totally to their *local* joint-funder, the Local Authority. They had little to say regarding the explicit intentions of both funders: that as part of their equal opportunities policies they wanted women to gain employment as a result of being trained in non-traditional manual skill trades.[27]

The two main points to emerge from their perception of the covert intentions of the funders centred firstly around the possible 'political' intentions of the Local Authority in general, and individual councillors in particular. Whilst the workers point to the perceived 'careerism' of some councillors, they also acknowledge their dependence on their continued support. It is also extremely likely that without these individual councillors, whatever their perceived or 'real' motive, the project would not have existed in the first place. More generally, the Local Authority was perceived as continuing to use the project as part of its ongoing electoral publicity campaign: highlighting the successes of the project, and also, at the same time, pointing to their continued funding of it as a means of not funding other women's projects over which the workers believed the LA would have far less control. There are similarities in this funding control of women's projects with that of the employment of Women's Officers, the setting up LA Women's Committees and the co-opting of local activists onto them. Although outside the scope of this project, such trends also relate to the institutionalisation of feminism. The extent to which this might or might not be intentional does not alter the actual impact of the effects of these funding decisions on individual workers and on other local projects.

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27 However, as will be seen below, the workers commented at length on the 'achievements' of these intentions regarding future employment.

The second point to emerge from these responses centred on the lack of consultation by the councillors in setting up the project. This initial lack of consultation is shown by other extracts to be compounded by the first appointees, who themselves freely admit to their ignorance of non-traditional skills and to their lack of experience within either an education or training background. From these responses regarding the funders' intentions emerges a dominant question regarding the LA's explicit intention to train local unemployed working-class women in non-traditional skills to a point where they could compete in, by definition, a totally male dominated sector of the labour market.

The workers' responses regarding their perception of the achievements of the funders' intentions focused primarily on the funders' explicit intention of employment resulting from the manual skills training provision. Their consideration of 'achievement' included comments on the specific nature of the training and on the Local Authority's management of the project: both administratively and educationally. These comments provide the workers' evaluation of such achievements along with individual critiques of the funders' attempt to implement their training intentions.

All of the workers' comments regarding funders' achievements were directly linked to their perception of the achievement of the funders' explicit employment generating intention.

The workers were unanimously critical of the extent of the achievement of this explicit employment intention of the funders.[28] Their comments ranged from the following short sharp response:

> "What do the funders get ? Hassle, kudos, something to be marketed." (W)

to a smouldering kind of anger concerning the apparent inappropriateness of the training project:

> "It wasn't the right sort of training scheme for those women. Not at all. I think you could've put, provided the sort of facilities that women need up there at less

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[28] See again the quantitative data for 1990/1 contained in Note 23.

> expense, cost, and without the constant dilemma of 'what are we doing ?'" (X)

Extracts relating to employment achievements are located in Note 29. Worker 'U' believes that the number of trainees gaining employment are enough to ensure the continued funding from the LA. Worker 'X' however finds this Local Authority acceptance of low employment results, questionable. At another point in the interview this same worker ('X') gave further quantitative information regarding trainee employment. She believes that out of a total intake of two hundred women, four gained employment relating to their training. Other women gained non-training related employment - "cleaning jobs in local hospitals and things", and she also refers again to the drop-out during the course: both at the Centre itself and at the later FE stage.

In considering the achievement of the funders' employment aims, most workers also considered the local labour market. One of the original management workers said:

> "I genuinely believe that if the County Council could have got the money for anything, they would have set up secretarial, hosiery, traditional career type jobs, or - the strange thing was, we were training women for auto-engineering and the only vacancies that were available were over-locking !" (Y)[29]

And another worker, who had initially identified economic independence as the aim of her job, hoping that non-traditional training would lead to well-paid jobs, soon realized that the jobs which women would get, even in the 'trades' because of their male domination, "were not that brilliantly paid either." (U)[30] The workers' unanimous opinion was that women were not being trained in skills suitable to the needs of the local economy, and they also

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[29] 'Over-locking' is a skilled machinist trade within the textile industry.

[30] These comments of the workers, questioning the suitability of the training for the local labour market, were also expressed one year into the project in the 1986 Annual Report:
"There is a mismatch between some of the skill areas on offer to women trainees and openings in the employment market - particularly in relation to the building trades and auto-engineering." (Annual Report 1986 p13; full bibliographical details are not provided, for to do so would compromise confidentiality.)

pointed out that those women who gained employment continued to get low-paid low-status work.

The workers' dissatisfaction with these employment achievements led to some of the expression of cynicism regarding the funders' intentions in the first place.

> "I think the County Council knew what they were doing ... I got more and more wary and I got more sceptical. The more I began to feel that I myself had politically grown within that scheme, the more that I felt that I could identify more with the trainees than with the County Council. And then I became less of - I believed far less in the altruism, and more in cynicism." (Y)

This extract is typical of both the process of disillusionment recalled by all the workers, and of the pain linked to that process.

Intrinsically linked into their consideration of the explicit employment aim of the funders' were three main categories of related concern. First was that of the Local Authority's administration of the project.

Following on from their criticisms of the LA's failure to hold consultations during the setting-up of the project, came criticisms of the next stage in the process: that of the first worker appointments, and directly linked to this, that of the management structures imposed and the support provided.

Note 30 contains extracts relating to the initial appointments. Unlike the two white outreach workers, the Afro-Caribbean and the Asian outreach workers were funded through Section 11[31], which was perceived as being of lower status and less secure than the ESF funding.[32] The instructors specifically refer to what they see as their marginalisation within the perceived hierarchy of workers. They remained on part-time contracts even when the project was taken onto the LA's mainstream funding. Workers 'X' and 'Y' also point to

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[31] See Note 33[2] for an explanation of Section 11 funding.
[32] The sequence and levels of appointments are also referred to in the projects Annual Report (1986), an extract of which is included in Note 30.

the first coordinator's lack of financial and management skills, although 'Y' also points to the difficult position of the coordinator in trying to bridge a management structure they described as a hierarchical collectivity. The two original workers both refer to their original job descriptions emphasising the need for 'collective' working. Yet, at the same time the Local Authority was said to have imposed a clearly defined hierarchical salary structure and the management process was that of equally clear line-management.[33]

The second coordinator referred specifically to the management structure she found when she took up her appointment. (Note 30, 'C')[34] She believed her appointment reflected the LA's closer concern over what was now its own funding commitment. She believed she brought increased financial and managerial control to the project. She spoke of disbanding the previous attempts at collective working and replacing it with clear line-management procedures.

> "The final nod is given by the Deputy/Chief Executive. ... Trivia comes back down from the top, and you know I dread it coming down, because you've gotta do it haven't you - targets and reports - all self-glowing." (C)

The other workers mostly considered the change of coordinator and the change in funding to be intrinsically linked. (see Note 31)

With regard to the management of the project, the workers also referred to the restraints put on it by the actual financial funding procedures. Four of the workers referred to the insecurity resulting from ESF funding which, with a three-year limit, was considered by them to be detrimental to any long-term planning. For instance, this worker comments:

> "And you need to plan if you're running a training scheme: you need to plan at least two or three years in advance, but how do you do that when you only know you're getting money to the following December ? So,

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33 Extracts relating to the management structure are contained in Note 30.

34 In these extracts the second coordinator is unavoidably identified as such. Her other more general comments remain less identifiable.

> whilst yes they're giving you money, they make it impossible for you to do your job properly. .... I've never been to Brussels, but - I can only think it's cosmetic." (U)

These thoughts are echoed by this worker in her consideration of the 1989 funding position:

> "They continue to fund it enough so it can't really grow - it can't grow - but they won't shut it - yet. .... It's set up to fail. It wasn't resourced properly, never resourced properly. Never had the proper premises. It's never had its instructors until recently (as permanent staff). .. It's not enough. Not enough clout to get traineeships, to take placements off - it's all minimal - less than tokenistic. We're marginalized, we're on the edge. It's a miracle actually that it got taken on. This is all on the edge. It's all outside of the main system. Outside of employers, outside of colleges. We're just tagged on the end .. so we don't alter the main thing, and the main thing doesn't wish to alter. They'd have to give up some of their goodies and they don't wish to do that." (W)

This comment relates to the general questioning by the workers of the extent of the funders' explicit intention in the first place.

The second emergent category was that of the Local Authority's relationship to the educational or training process of the project. The workers believed that the Local Authority was basically unconcerned about the actual teaching content or about any other internal issue, provided it was contained within the budget and within the Centre - that is, that it did not cause any adverse publicity which would detract from what the workers perceived as one of the LA's main covert intentions for the scheme: that of political kudos and electoral results.

> "A lot of autonomy for the scheme, as long as (the LA) think everything is OK and we don't send up invoices which treasury go crazy about." (W)

Similarly, of the broader political empowering content of the teaching:

> "I think they're (the LA) aware it goes on because they know either informally or formally the women who are running these schemes and they know the sort of political bias or the political ideas of the women. And I think there's pressure to hide it, - it's like alright we all know it goes on, but don't stand on your soap-

> boxes, we know you're political but - it's like 'yes, go out and do it, but don't ram it down women's throats'. And you can't anyway." (X)

The workers repeatedly stress what they see as the funders' lack of concern for the actual *process* of the training project: both its internal management, its training and educational programme, or any other related or emergent issue. They point instead to what they see as the main concerns of the funders: that the project remain within budget restrictions, and that it present their required 'equal opportunities' image.

The third and final emergent category from the workers' comments in this area was that regarding the specific nature of the training provision: non-traditional manual skills. The workers commented on the 'suitability' of the training to what they perceived as the needs of the targeted trainees. All but one of the workers, at some point in the interview, explicitly questioned whether this was in fact the right training for these women. One of the areas of questioning was that of the age of the trainees, especially in relation to the construction industry:

> "Taking women over 25 .. I think that's restricted it quite a lot, certainly in terms of my trade. If I could have been training eighteen, nineteen, twenty-year old women .. if they could have come straight out of school, college - they could've given it a go." (X)

Some went on to question the funding policy itself. For instance,

> "This money was available in a (particular) way, and it wasn't available for doing things which the women of (this city) do want. I've no doubt the women of (this city) want office skill training; they want textile skill training; they want computer - all this sort of thing, any number of things, and the money wasn't available in Europe for that: the money was available for manual skills." (U)

The workers' critique of the 'suitability' of the training was generally linked by them to the earlier point regarding the lack of consultation by the LA to discover the training needs of the women

themselves.[35] These workers also pointed to 'disadvantaged' women being the specifically targeted trainee group. Typical of the comments in this area, often linked with those regarding the immediate material and emotional needs of the trainees, is that of this worker who saw such targeting as meaning:

> "The women who come through are exceptional, despite any provision now, the women who actually get through are exceptional, they aren't ordinary." (W)

The workers' questioning of the actual training being provided was despite the strongly expressed general consensus of the workers to the concept of equal opportunities and to training women in non-traditional manual skills, as detailed in the consideration of their own aims and intentions.

All of the workers expressed differing degrees of suspicion that 'failure' had actually been built into the scheme: that is the LA never wanted it to succeed, certainly not past its initial three-year ESF funding.[36] The exact focus of this suspicion varied from worker to worker, but their combined comments led to strong questioning of three particular aspects of the training project: the specific targeting of the trainees; the particular non-traditional manual skills training being offered; and the mismatch between the training and the apparent needs of the local labour market. This worker covers the points commonly made:

> "The situation was set up whereby we would actually get very few successes out of it in those terms (of women joining the building industry), because the scheme was combining the idea of 'women into non-traditional skills', with the idea of 'positive action for women who'd never had a chance before'. .. There's huge numbers of women for whom life has treated so negatively that in one or two years, which is what we originally aimed to do, there is no way in which they can be successfully transformed into successful people in the

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[35] Two of the workers referred to the LA's dismissal of their own commissioned report on the specific training needs of Asian women, (1987). Bibliographical details are not provided, for to do so would compromise confidentiality.

[36] However, as a result of much lobbying, the training scheme did not die a quiet death at the end of the ESF funding period, which, according to the workers, apparently caused the LA some disquiet and displeasure. See for instance Note 32.

> employment market which is geared to youth, fitness, academic brain, all that - and ruthlessness as well." (V)

Three workers referred to the ESF's recent requirement that new technology be appended to existing training.[37] The 'new technology' training given was basic keyboard familiarization and introductory word-processing skills. The following extract is from a worker who spoke of this in relation to the apparent ease with which the EC gave money, and what she saw as a lack of interest in 'checking-up':

> "So I think they've got a kind of disinterest really.... The check they do make is, we've got so many hours 'new technology' and they do worry about that, so we end up teaching things that aren't relevant to the course. You know women are happy to learn about computers, but its hard to pretend that the building industry in any way is computerised, because it isn't. So it's just an added course in computers they can do. But it's more serious for the EC than if we left off teaching them how to change a tap washer you know." (V)

The following two extracts summarize the main points made by the workers in this section:

> "Well it does give women the space to do it, it does give women the opportunity to do it, but it helps some more than others, by virtue of what it is. If you were single or with a partner - and have got children it's a huge help because it can pay costs, your childcare costs - the allowance is minimal, the bus fares right, well you've got to pay them anyway, and also if you've got kids, and you're youngish then you might be happy to work three or four years towards getting what you want. But I think, take some of the single women, which would include some of the lesbians, it's a very slow route. What does it actually achieve ? It makes it possible, but you see nothing else has changed. The women end up with a City and Guilds qualification and very little hands-on work experience and it's worth bugger-all really. They've still got to get out there and prove - they've got to get out there and find if they're tough enough to survive day in, and day out, and of course, it's a big shock. It's a bit late when you've spent thousands of pounds on someone's training for her find out that it's really quite gross." (W)

> "Ultimately, it was about trying too hard to make things work, with the wrong ingredients: it was trying to make

[37] See the following Chapter.

> a pudding but using the wrong ingredients, and the only thing that could happen, was that it would be a, - a disaster." (Y)

From the analysis of the workers' perceptions of the funders' achievements the emergent points centre on two inter-locking themes: firstly that of non-traditional manual skills training itself, and secondly, the workers' suspicions of possible 'inbuilt failure' - the general lack of support and disinterest in results by either funder: ESF or LA.

The workers' criticisms of the funders were rooted in the lack of consultation carried out in the setting up of the project. This led to the criticisms of the first appointments: setting a fuse for later racial tensions.[38] The first appointments were also criticised for having no knowledge of either the manual trades or of non-social work educational or training experience.[39] Additionally, the appointed coordinator was considered lacking in the necessary financial or managerial skills. This critique of the funders' management of the project also included the managerial structures and processes imposed upon the workers. This centred around the concept of what was called 'hierarchical collectivity', which in its notions of 'collectivity' found empathy with the non-hierarchical collective working ideas generally found within feminist organisations and activist groups, and which many of the workers adhered to. Yet whilst the LA apparently stressed the need for collective working, they themselves operated a clear line-management structure between themselves and the coordinator.

These two factors: the Local Authority's appointment of the first workers and their stated wish for collective working within an imposed hierarchical structure, reinforced by the feminist non-hierarchical leanings of the workers, created a situation where major underlying conflicts between women: race, class and sexual

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38 See the related analysis of the training centre in Note 33.

39 As recorded above, two of these first appointees were, for these same reasons, themselves critical of their own appointment by the LA.

preference, could be expressed with a greater chance of being heard than could possibly exist outside. The internal 'race' conflicts, along with other causes of fragmentation: class and sexual preference, are considered more fully in Note 33. This shows, for instance, how the workers' comments on internal racism, when juxtaposed with their understanding of the black community's criticisms of the project, make 'race' an explosive issue within the Centre. These issues, whilst reflecting obvious external tensions, also relate back to the sequence and funding source of the initial appointees.

In contrast to the setting-up of the project, the subsequent second coordinator did not see herself as 'compromised' by any notions of 'collectivity', and she exercised tight control on the budget and worked visibly within the line-management structure of the LA, whilst installing a similarly clear hierarchical management structure within the Centre itself. Her financial and managerial skills were seen by the other workers as being the reason for her appointment. This appointment coincided with the change in funding; the ESF three-year funding having come to an end. These changes were seen to mark a shift in the LA's relationship to the project. The skill-differential seen to exist between the first two coordinators generates the following questions: Why were these skills desirable in the second coordinator but not, apparently, in the first ? Were these skills not previously considered necessary because the scheme was never intended to be successful, or to survive ? Were the ESF funds seen as a short-term bonus, separate from LA funds and not accountable in the same way ?

The workers' comments on the suitability of manual skills training also generated questions relating to the ESF's later requirements for new technology training. On the one hand, it seems, were the ESF demands that new technology be universally appended to all other training provision, and yet on the other hand, there was an apparent lack of interest shown in the actual content of the provision. The indication seems to be that it is simply the

'existence' of new technology training which is important, not the usefulness of it for the women involved. Such provision could be seen as tokenistic - simply providing the funders with the grounds to say: we *are* providing new technology training as well. However, whatever the funders' actual intentions regarding the content or successes of either the new technology or the manual skills training, the indications are that, at the very least, neither funder has shown much interest in the actual training content, nor in the employment results achieved.

The indication from this analysis is that the Local Authority is content to continue funding this training project, despite very low results in terms of women finding employment in non-traditional manual skill areas. (Note 23) This prompts a question concerning the stated employment intentions of both funding bodies. Either, they really don't mind having so few declared-goal-orientated successes - that is, they really do think it worth the woman-power of employees and the considerable financial imput to have a few women each year enter an area of employment previously denied them. Or, such quantitative outcomes are irrelevant. If so, there could be one of two reasons for this: firstly the LA, like the workers themselves, use broader, far more qualitative, criteria for success, such as 'friendship', 'general empowerment' and 'generally effecting change in individuals' lives' - through other forms of employment or through continuing education or training. Or, secondly, the outcomes for the trainees, whatever they might or might not be, are irrelevant - they do not relate to the function which the training scheme plays for the Local Authority.

There was however, a slight indication that left to their own devices - that is without the funding restraints of the ESF - the LA would have provided more traditional areas of training. Whilst this might have increased the employability of the trainees in relation to the local labour market, it would not have addressed the equal opportunities notion of women gaining access to male dominated skills and occupations previously denied them. This generates the

question: Was the 'equal opportunities' aspect of the training more important than the stated increased employability ? Given the low employability rate achieved by the training, the strong indication is that this particular training provided to these particular women does not increase their employability, so is it, therefore, the most suitable training to be offered these women ? Furthermore, given that it was one of only two such well supported training opportunities for unemployed working-class women in this locality, the extent to which it actually widens opportunity is also questionable.[40]

The concluding concern from this analysis of funders' achievements is not so much, (despite the suspicions of the workers), whether or not the LA wanted the project to fail exactly, but rather, instead, to question the extent to which they expected, or intended, for it to 'succeed': whether that be in terms of the numbers of trainees gaining training related jobs, or in terms of the future viability of the project itself.

The emergent questions.

The inductive analysis of the case study data generated two clear categories for considering the achievements of the training project. The aims and intentions of each of the three main groups of people involved: the workers, the trainees, and the funders, were identifiable either as *immediate* - to be achieved during the training, or *future* - to be achieved as a result of the training. Some, but not most, of the immediate aims or needs were shared by the various parties, but more importantly, it did seem, admittedly only from the workers' perceptions, that these immediate aims - of all parties - were to a considerable extent adequately met by the project. Yet whereas the *future* aim was seen to be fully shared by each party: that is that the trainees gain training related employment, the clear indications from the workers were that they were not successful in achieving this. It is this second category:

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[40] The other well supported, also ESF funded, training scheme in the locality was that relating to the skills considered necessary for setting-up a co-operative business: that is one which is owned and controlled by the workers within it.

that relating to the *future* aims of the project from which the questions directing the next stage of the research are generated.

These emergent questions, discussed in depth at the end of each section of this chapter, are summarized as follows:

i) To what extent did this training meet the actual training needs of the trainees themselves ?

ii) Given the targeting of educationally and socially disadvantaged unemployed working-class women, was this particular training that most likely to succeed in increasing their employment chances ?

iii) Accepting the low possibility of such training related employment, to what extent does such training compound any previous educational or employment failures the women might have ?

iv) To what extent would other, or wider, choices of well-supported training, not only continue to meet the immediate material and emotional needs of the trainees, but their hopes and aspirations for future employment as well ?

v) To what extent did the LA appointment of the first workers, especially that of the coordinator, reflect their expectations or intentions that the project would not survive past its initial 3-year ESF funding ?

vi) Were the ESF funds seen as a short-term financial bonus which, at the same time, allowed the LA to present a vote-catching 'equal opportunities' image ?

vii) How serious were the ESF's intentions regarding training women in new technology skills - especially given that the main focus remained that of manual skills ?

viii) How serious were the funders regarding the training aim of increasing training-related employment ?

ix) Do the funders, after all, use a less, and unpublished, qualitative measure of success, more akin to that of the workers' concept of empowerment ?

x) Are the funders interested in any notion or actuality of 'outcome' or 'result' from the training project ?

xi) To what extent did the funders consider the 'equal opportunities' aspect of the project more important than the stated increased employability ?

xii) Given that the training did not increase the employability of the trainees, is it the most suitable training to be provided ?

xiii) Given the general lack of similarly supported training in the locality does it actually increase or widen women's training - and therefore, employment - opportunity ?

xiv) To what extent did the funders (especially the LA) expect the training project to, by any criteria, succeed ?

These specific questions are all represented by the dominant emergent question from the case study:

> *Why did the funders fund this particular sort of training to these particular women, and why not something else ?*

As part of the grounded theory process of emergent questions determining the next stage of the research, its expression as a tentative hypothesis is as follows:

> *The funders' explicitly stated aim that the intention of the training was to increase employment, was of secondary importance to their primary, and less-explicit, aim of constructing a visible equal opportunities policy.*

This tentative hypothesis is not intended, in any way, to indicate the possibility of any sort of 'conspiracy theory' on the part of the funders to deliberately train women for non-existent jobs. It is simply a hypothesis which states that the funding policy was *led* by the funders' need of a visible equal opportunities policy; that is, by the importance of the *presence* of the training project itself, and not led, despite their stated intentions, by the need to provide training which would lead to employment within training related occupations.

Throughout the case study the workers' perception of the 'funders' has been mainly that of the Local Authority, whilst at the same time they consistently point to the financial relationship between the LA

and the ESF. The workers are equally clear in their understanding that the LA's choice of training provision is a direct consequence of this financial relationship: that is they chose non-traditional manual skills training in order to meet the funding requirements of the ESF. The indication of this is that the LA have responded to the policy intentions of the ESF.[41] Therefore, in order to address these emergent categories of employment intentions and equal opportunities, and "the relationship between them", (Glaser 1978 p284), the research is directed towards the policy documents of the ESF and the UK government.[42] The focus on public statements of policy and documents of interpretation determines the method of research: this is the library based documentary search and subsequent analysis of text. The findings will enable the hypothesis formed from the emergent categories of the case study to be addressed.

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41 A closer analysis of the role of the Local Authority was one of many options for further research which emerged from the analysis of the case study. For a full discussion of this see p135.

42 A deeper consideration of the process of grounded theory in relation to this crucial step in the research process was discussed on p124/127, and p136.

CHAPTER 5

THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL FUND.

Introduction.

This Chapter addresses the questions generated by the case study.

These were encapsulated in the single query:

> "Why did the funders fund this particular sort of training to these particular women, and why not something else ?"

These emergent questions were expressed, at the end of the preceding Chapter, as:

> The funders' explicitly stated aim that the intention of the training was to increase employment, was of secondary importance to their primary, and less explicit, aim of constructing a *visible* equal opportunities policy.

The following consideration of this hypothesis is based on an analysis of ESF policy documents and subsequent EC and UK interpretations.

There are instances throughout this chapter where the discussion refers to or touches on themes and concepts dealt with in far greater depth in Chapter 2. The clarification of this at this point is made in order to reduce the requirement for numerous future individual textual references which serve only to hinder the clarity and progression of the argument.

However, a brief recap on the first section of Chapter 2 re-sketches the background within which the following analysis can be located. The section defined the type and relative legality of the EC

documents used, and it identified the economic foundation of the European Community, and its specific need for a) a flexible workforce;[1] and b) for women not to be a cheap source of labour which could cause unfair economic advantage between Member States. From this fundamental concern, centred on the creation of a 'perfect market situation' to ensure the free movement of goods, people, services and capital (broadly defined as liberal-capitalism), the ESF was constructed to provide targeted funding for economic development, employment initiatives and vocational training linked to the needs of the labour market.[2]

This Chapter has six further sections. It begins by looking at the development of ESF policy and then at the interpretation of this policy, firstly by the EC, and secondly by the UK. This is followed by a consideration of ESF policy relating specifically to new technology training for women. The fifth section focuses on the implementation of the ESF policy within Britain and section six contains the Chapter's conclusion. References to Notes are found in Appendix 1, Figures in Appendix 2, and Tables in Appendix 3.

ESF policy development.

The operating structure of the ESF is that of the 'Objectives'.[3] Objectives 3 and 4 relate to vocational training for the unemployed: Objective 3 for people aged over 25, and Objective 4 for those under 25. Both Objectives have a subsection relating specifically to the vocational training of women. The aim of the vocational funding is to train unemployed people in skills relevant to the needs of the labour market, and to increase the employment chances of those

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1 This concept of 'flexible' is that discussed by Finn; Buswell; Ainley; Hollands, and not that of Beechey.
2 These fundamental intentions of the ESF can be located in the following texts: EC 1975; EC 1976; Social Europe 2/91; Social Europe 3/86b, 3/86c; EC 1987a; EC 1992a; EC Background Report 1978b; European File 4/84; and are also discussed by Keiner & Wickham 1980; Neave 1991; Preston 1991; Meehan 1989.
3 Full details of the ESF Objectives are located in Note 34.

trainees. There is then a direct and clear linkage between the ESF, the European economy, and the specific needs of the labour market.[4]

The 'human resources' argument of the European Community is developed as a consequence of these deep fundamental economic concerns. The intention behind this argument is that no individual Member State can gain economic advantage over another by using cheap labour - for instance, women or migrants. This is quite a different, opposite, use of the terminology to that of Beechey who uses 'human resources' as a part of her theory relating to women as a cheap source of labour.

From the perceived economic necessity for individual Member State's equal access to labour and labour costs, came the initial requirement for 'equality legislation'. Within the Treaty of Rome (1957) Article 123 set up the European Social Fund; and Articles 57, 118 and 128 relate to the provision of, and rights regarding, vocational training, and provide the route for subsequent Directives on vocational training as well as the 1987 Recommendation. Article 119, the 'equality' article requires equal pay for men and women for work of equal value. This particular Article provided the legal route for all other equality Directives, including the Social Charter.[5] The UK's own Equal Pay Act was a response to the demands of Article 119. Table 2 of Appendix 3, provided information relating to the enactment of 'equal pay' policies by each Member State.

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[4] The 'economic foundation' section of Chapter 2 outlined the main areas of impact on the European economy: the predicted demographic changes; the growth and impact of new technology; the economic consequences of the Single European Market (SEM); the perceived economic threat of USA & Japan, especially through new technology; and finally, the ever-deepening recession. See Pillinger 1992 for a consideration of the likely negative impact of the SEM on the position of women in the labour market.

[5] For a fuller discussion of the equality articles and directives see for instance: Mazey 1987; Preston 1991; EC 1992a; Warner 1984; Meehan 1989; Hoskyns 1985; Lovenduski 1986; Women of Europe 12/83. See also Note 1.

An important aspect of this EC foundation of equality legislation has been the construct of the discourse of 'equal opportunities'.[6] From the beginning of the European Community this discourse of 'equal opportunities' has, therefore, been intrinsically linked with the general needs of the economy and the specific need for a flexible workforce.[7] Within the EC, this linkage has been particularly evident in the 'equal opportunities for women' action programmes.[8] It is also identifiable in the first reference to the 'right' of women to training and guidance contained in the Report: *Vocational guidance and training for women workers.* (EC 1976)[9]

Meehan (1992) argued that 'equal opportunities' was a cheap means of providing the European Community with an economically necessary 'human face', particularly given that the Member States could not agree to a standardized social policy.[10] Her identification of a 'slowing down' of equality issues from the late 1970s might be because "sex equality was not, after all, a cheap way of popularizing the Community." (Meehan 1992 p60) This argument, however, touches on but then sidesteps the more fundamental economic point. That is that the intention of the equality legislation to which the equal opportunities discourse is linked, is

> "to ensure that free competition was not distorted by the employment of women at lower rates than men for the same work." (EC Background Report 1978b p1; see also European File 4/84)

This economic root has also led to an EC and UK emphasis on the specific 'needs' to be addressed within the training programmes themselves: the free childcare; the accessible course times; the financial assistance; even the encouragement of women tutors.[11] Following on from this, albeit belatedly, the needs of the labour

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[6] This concept of the discourse of equal opportunities was defined on p87[63].
[7] Weiner,(1990a), identifies a similar linkage in her analysis of equal opportunities and TVEI.
[8] See in particular Ergo 1990; COM(85)801; COM(90)449.
[9] See also House of Lords 1990 p13.
[10] This was discussed in Chapter 2, p30.
[11] These specific needs are addressed in the following texts: EC 1976; COM(85)801; COM(90)449; Labour Market Quarterly August 1990a; UK/ESFU 1992, 1993; OJL 331 1984.

market are now leading to a consideration of the particular needs of immigrant women. (see EC 1987f) Meehan's identification of the 'slowing down' of equality issues could, therefore, be explained in direct relation to the specific needs of the labour market, and in particular by the impact of new technology on the processes of production which have reduced the need for the quantity of labour as well as redefining the qualities required from the remaining labour force.[12]

However, from this economic need for equality legislation, comes the subsequent *discourse* of equal opportunities. This discourse uses language such as 'access', 'individual choice' and 'opportunity' which has, historically, also been the fundamental language of liberal-democracy which itself is intrinsically interwoven with the needs of the free capital market. To this historic liberal-democratic language are the late twentieth-century additions of 'ethnic minorities', 'gender', 'women', 'migrants', 'under-representation', and the much appended 'equal' to the historic liberal concepts of 'access', 'choice' and 'opportunity'. Throughout the 1980s this discourse, certainly within Britain, has increasingly emphasised the 'democratic' aspect of liberal-democracy, refining itself into the concept of 'social justice'. This is the 'democratic' 'liberal' face which focuses on the freedom of choice of the individual, and effectively masks the structures and processes of the free capital market economy which, despite the cloaking discourse, does *not* concern itself with the individual but with the availability of (gender, class, race) stratified labour to meet the economic needs of the time.

A consequence of this economic underpinning of the ESF and the 'equality' action programmes on women is evident in the lack of information regarding ESF training. The only information provided is that relating to Budget allocations, where any detail included results simply in a comparative table of the Member States.[13]

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12 See the labour market section of Chapter 2.

13 Details regarding ESF general budget allocations are contained in Tables 4-7, and those relating specifically to women in Table 17.

Windebank's critique of the limitations of such information is detailed in Chapter 2 p57/8, and her observation that analysis is restricted to comparisons between Member States, without any consideration of other variables which might exist either between Member States or within individual States, is extremely relevant to any analysis undertaken in this Chapter. The other aspect to the financial information, often obtained from a separate source, is the allocation of particular Objectives EC-wide, with no detail regarding individual Member States. Requests to the European Community (Directorate-General V) itself could not provide information on the vocational training actually provided, or on the numbers of women trained, or on the numbers of women gaining related employment at the end of their training.[14]

The financial analysis of ESF allocations detailed in Chapter 2, p38/41, provides a possible clue to this lack of EC information on the actual training of unemployed women. From the Commission's point of view the ESF budget, in its entirety, is a mere drop in the ocean - approximately 7% of all EC funding for 1990-92.[15] Furthermore, over this period, the specific allocation for the training of women is, at 0.4% of the total, simply the crumbs of the cake: the budget allocation to women is little more than tokenistic.[16]

Chapter 2 outlined four periods within the development of the ESF.[17] The first period, following the Treaty of Rome, began with the enactment of the ESF in 1958 and came to an end in 1971 with the 1971 Reform. It was in this Reform that 'women' were first specified as a 'group' to be targeted for training. (European File 19/79; Collins 1983) The Reform also pointed out that "aid from the ESF should not be a substitute for the usual governmental expenditure in this area." (quoted in European File 19/79 p2) This

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14 See Note 12.
15 Speech by Christine Crawley MEP at the NIACE conference 8.3.91; these figures can also be located in COM(90)516.
16 Further budget information regarding the allocation to women can be found in House of Lords 1988; Women of Europe 30/89.
17 Note 35 contains an outline of the main Reforms to the ESF.

notion of 'additionality' remains as contentious today as it was then. The European File (1990b) *Structural Policies of the EC*, reaffirms the importance of 'additionality' saying funds are to

> "make a contribution over and above public expenditure already planned. .... National governments cannot simply pocket Community money as savings on their own budgets." (p14)[18]

The second period is identified as continuing from then until 1983. This included the crucial 1977 Reforms which represented the first stage in the decentralisation of ESF administration, and the subsequent increase in importance of individual Member States governments.[19] The first *Women of Europe Supplement*, in 1979, provided an interpretation of the ESF during this period. It stated:

> "Preference is granted when selecting applications: to non-traditional training operations, that is:
> • in sections where women are under-represented;
> • in jobs traditionally reserved for men, in order to help balance the division of the labour market between men and women;
> • to operations with assured openings:
> • vocational training in the strict sense, leading to jobs corresponding to the level of training received;
> • pre-training, leading to training for skilled jobs."
> (Women of Europe 1/79 *foreword*)

This interpretation is reinforced by the subsequent *Women of Europe Supplement*: 2/79.

The third period began with the Decision of 1983 which reinforced the 1977 Reform and increased the importance of the Guidelines and Priority system.[20] This Decision reaffirmed the economic base of the ESF, stating:

> "The task of the Fund is to participate in particular in the financing of vocational training, the promotion of

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18 'Additionality' is also stressed in the House of Lords 1988 and EC 1992b.
19 This decentralisation is referenced in the following texts: Social Europe 2/91; Background Report 1978a; and DE 1990.
20 An introduction to these structures is given in Chapter 2, and is discussed below in relation to the interpretation of policy. A copy of the Priority articles is attached in Note 34.

> employment and geographical mobility." (Council Decision 77009/83 dated 21 June 1983, p2)[21]

During this period it was stated that:

> "The Social Fund supports programmes specifically to help women aged over 25 to find new jobs, especially in the fields of computers, electronics and office work. It also helps women to find jobs in industries where they are traditionally under-represented, or more qualified jobs in industries where women are frequently employed." (European File 2/84 p9)

Also during this period, both the number of applications to the ESF and the Budget to meet them increased rapidly: from 1976 to 1986 the committed expenditure rose fivefold. (European File 19/86)[22] In order to make the selection of projects easier,

> "the Council of Ministers instructed the EC to prepare Guidelines for the management of the ESF. These specify the types of priority operations as well as the different selection procedures at regional level." (European File 19/86 p8)

This, the third period, ended with the major Structural Funds Reform of 1988, which aimed to rationalise the three major Funds to construct a more integrated approach to European Funding strategies and processes.[23] Furthermore, through its use of Community Support Frameworks this Reform continued the process of decentralisation.[24] This brings the section on the development of ESF policy up to the end of the period referred to in the case study. A brief outline of the ESF changes taking place during 1993 are included in Note 36.

EC policy interpretation.

The focus of this section is on the evidence relating to the European and the British interpretation of ESF training policy. There are two lines of questioning running throughout - not parallel like train tracks, but linked, criss-crossing over each other, like

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[21] See also Background Report 1983; Background Report 1985.
[22] See also Background Reports 1978c, 1979b and 1981a for further details on the financial allocations.
[23] OJC 269 1990 details the envisaged financial limitations of this Reform.
[24] Details concerning the Structural Funds Reform can be located in the following texts: COM(87)376/2/FINAL/ 8251/87; COM(90)516; COM(90)334; European File 1990b; OJC 126/88; Background Report 1989; plus reference is also made to it by Preston 1991.

the loops of a chain. Both start with the concept of occupational under-representation. The first asks: Which of the occupations in which women are under-represented are prioritised for training, and which are neglected ? The second asks: What is the extent of training for occupations of under-representation compared with that relating to hierarchical under-representation of women ? This concept of 'under-representation' relates directly to the sex-segregation theories of the labour-market, identifying occupational or horizontal sex-segregation, and hierarchical or vertical sex-segregation.[25]

As mentioned above, the 1977 Reforms were significant because they began the process of decentralisation and because they increased the importance of the 'Priority and Guidelines' system regarding the allocation of Funds. Its prime relevance for this Chapter lie in its statement regarding two separate Priorities relating to women's training. This stated that Priority for women's training would be given:

> 1 "to schemes promoting women's participation in new jobs and in jobs where they are *under-represented*";
> 2 "to schemes concerning traditional female jobs, ... enabling them to get *a job more highly qualified than their previous one.*"
> (EC 1980a p65; emphasis is mine)

However, although there are these two Priorities: one addressing occupational under-representation and the other hierarchical under-representation, what transpired was that full funding was only allocated to those applications concerned with Priority 1: occupational under-representation.

The *Women of Europe Supplement* no 6 (1981) gave the following interpretation of the 1977 Reform as it related to the vocational training of women:

> "Main criteria for eligibility of participants:-
> i) aged over 25;

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[25] The concept of 'under-representation' is outlined in Women of Europe 36/92. See also Walby 1986, 1988; and Cockburn 1988. Theories of labour-market sex-segregation are considered in depth in Chapter 2, p48/52.

ii) have lost jobs, or have never worked, or wish to return to work after a break;
iii) have *no or inadequate qualifications* - that is, are unskilled or semi-skilled.

Selection criteria:
The highest priority is given to programmes that train women for *occupations that have been traditionally reserved for men* or for programmes that train them for *new jobs open to both sexes*. When first priority applications have been met, second priority is given to programmes that concern traditional female employment but (1) are for women involved in mass dismissals; (2) or *facilitate women to reach a higher level of employment* than their previous employment." (EC Women of Europe Supplement 6/1981 p2, underlined emphasis is theirs; italic emphasis is mine)

The italic emphasis shows firstly, the intended targeting of the trainees; secondly, the equal high priority given at this time to training in traditional male occupations and to training for 'new jobs'. However even in 1981, training related to hierarchical under-representation is quite far down the list and as such any relevant applications stood a much reduced, if any, chance of receiving funding.

The EC Report (1987e) *The Reinsertion of women in working life - initiatives and problems*, considers this influencing power of the Priority system on the applications made. It points out:

"- either they put together a programme which corresponds fully with the funding criteria, or
- they try to adapt the existing programme in the light of the criteria (by modifying programme content, target populations, etc), or
- they reject the subsidy accorded them and look elsewhere for funds.
However that may be, it can be dangerous to make a programme dependent on a subsidy because then *the programme is designed as a function of the subsidy and not of the target population.*" (p99/100)

The emphasis here is mine. The Report itself points, significantly, to the lack of attention actually given to the needs of the 'target population' - the working class black and white women who are the recruited 'trainees'.

This then is the significance of the Priorities allocated by the 1977 Reform: successful applications are those which address themselves most fully to the funding criteria. The 1977 Reform's actual allocation-use of the Priority system represents a crucial step for subsequent European and British interpretations of policy. It represents the beginning of the process whereby training related to occupational under-representation is prioritised whilst at the same time, training for hierarchical under-representation is neglected.

The meaning of this is that (mainly working-class) unemployed women have been 'encouraged' out of training for advancement in traditional occupational areas, for instance, textiles or clerical work, where they might have re-entered the labour-market at a 'higher' position - with correspondingly higher pay and status and possible influence. Instead, training has been directed towards new jobs, (mainly through setting up cooperatives and other enterprises), or towards occupations of under-representation, especially those most obvious areas of 'traditional' under-representation such as manual skills relating primarily to the construction industry - the area of training focused on in the case study of this research.

Although not developed as part of the main line of research, the 'Priority 1' given to 'new jobs' is relevant to it in that it too raises numerous questions regarding the suitability of the training offered to working-class black and white women and allegedly linked, through the needs of the labour market, to the economy. Training in 'new jobs' has centred on 'enterprise creation' and in particular on the creation of worker-cooperatives.[26] This type of training has

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[26] This area of training represented the only other such well funded ESF training in the locality of the case study and is referred to in Chapter 4, p179[40]. This project provided basic business training which aimed to enable working-class women to set-up worker cooperatives. This particular scheme, like that of many other ESF/women's training courses, originated from the Economic Development Unit of the Local Authority - in collaboration with a relevant voluntary organisation. For further details regarding this aspect of ESF funded training see EC 1986a.

much in common with the British 'enterprise culture' of the 1980s which, mainly through the Manpower Services Commission, produced a myriad of training courses aimed through Youth Training at young people in 'school/work transition', and to the adult unemployed through, for instance, Employment Training and Enterprise Allowance Schemes.[27]

The EC Report *New types of Employment initiatives - women*, (1984a), in considering the positive features of worker cooperatives listed the increased flexibility they gave women; the possibility for women to work and train each other in non-traditional areas of work; and the emphasis on self-management. The Report believed this to be a crucial factor in limiting the extent of women's exploitation. They state that there is a

> "need for training - especially in areas where women are under-represented .... construction skills .... and for training in business and management skills."

And referring specifically to women being trained in construction skills, adds

> "very few women expect afterwards to get jobs in the industry. We would have to train 5,000 women to get 500 jobs in the trade. In recognition of this, some of the workshops now teach basic business skills and give advice and help in finding or creating jobs." (EC 1984a p20)[28]

However, at the same time as the priority for 'new job/worker-cooperatives' continues in the EC and UK Guidelines, it is nevertheless questioned by several EC Reports. (see for instance EC 1985b) The EC Report *The Viability of Employment Initiatives Involving women*, (1986b), points specifically to the lack of an adequate market (that is one which is not simply 'feminist' or even confined to 'women'); and to a lack of sufficient financial and market knowledge.[29] Looking at both clothing and construction/property maintenance cooperatives in the North-East of

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[27] A consideration of the general field of school-work and unemployment related training can be found in Note 4.

[28] Similar points are also made in Social Europe 3/90b; EC 1987e.

[29] These points are borne out by Hannah (1989) and by Mellor et al (1988). For further consideration of job creation through cooperatives see Cornforth et al 1988; EC 1988d; EC 1988e.

England Hannah (1989) questions the suitability of such ventures as a working-class response to unemployment. The 1988 EC Report entitled *Very-long-term unemployment*, (VLTU), considers the UK's 'Enterprise Allowance Scheme'.[30] It concludes that they

> "are not appropriate for the VLTU who are least likely to be sufficiently motivated or have the necessary funds to start on enterprises." (EC 1988a chpt 6, p4)

These reservations are especially applicable to working-class white and black women who have little previous business administration skills or the financial capital to invest or to 'cushion' the early months and years of the business.

This example of an EC commissioned Report presenting a critique of EC policy, highlights what seems to be an ongoing EC attempt at evaluation and reconsideration of policy and practice. Throughout this chapter we have on the one hand the policy documents themselves: the legislation and non-interpretative dissemination of factual information; and on the other hand we have the predictive or evaluative Reports. There is also a 'third hand' - that of the interpretation of the legislative documents. EC policy does not appear to be ungrounded in either initial research or in later evaluation. But the indications are that there is, at the very least, an unfortunate time-lag between the publication of Reports and any evidence of their possible influence on policy. This possibly reflects the structures and processes of the EC more so than any deliberate policy intention to ignore such Reports.

From the 1977 Reforms on, European interpretations of policy have continued to prioritise training for occupations of under-representation, and thereby to simultaneously neglect hierarchical under-representation.[31] This is despite a Council Recommendation of 13 December 1984 regarding the *Promotion of Positive Action for Women*. A 'Recommendation' *is* the Commission's point of view, it is

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[30] This is a government scheme which pays selected unemployed people an increased State Benefit for the initial set-up period of their small business or cooperative.

[31] Evidence of this can be found in, for instance, European File 4/84 and European File 10/87.

not the one-step removed interpretation of most of the other documents considered in this Chapter. But, neither does a Recommendation, unlike that of a Directive, hold any legality. This particular document 'Recommends' that Member States

> "1b) .. encourage the participation of women in various occupations in those sectors of working life where they are *at present under-represented, particularly in the sectors of the future, and at higher levels of responsibility* in order to achieve better use of all human resources. (p34)
> ....
> 4) .. - diversification of vocational choice, *and more relevant vocational skills, particularly through appropriate vocational training*, ... encouraging women candidates and the recruitment and promotion of women *in sectors and professions and at levels where they are under-represented, particularly as regards positions of responsibility*. (p35)
> ....
> 8) To make efforts also in the public sector .... particularly in those fields where *new information technologies* are being used or developed." (p35)

The emphasis placed in this extract is mine, and is used to highlight the fact that this official EC Recommendation was concerned, in 1984, with *present* under-representation, particularly in the *sectors of the future*, which are those related to the growth and impact of new technologies; and also, significantly, equally concerned - at this stage - with hierarchical under-representation. This generates the question of why, given this clear Recommendation, have the subsequent interpretations of the 1977 Reform and later ESF Reforms and Guidelines, so prioritised occupational under-representation, neglected hierarchical under-representation, and increasingly marginalized and vaporised, for working-class women, any emphasis on new technology ?

One of the main sources of interpretation of ESF policy for women have been the Equal Opportunities for Women Action Programmes (1982-5; 1986-90; 1991-6). These three programmes have exerted a strong interpretive influence, responding to and interweaving with the Commission's ESF policy Reforms.[32]

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[32] See for instance, Vogel-Polsky 1985; and for an evaluation of the first action programme see EC 1985d.

Of considerable significance has been the *second action programme (1986-90)*, which recommended actions encouraging women towards "an equal level of participation in employment linked with new technology." (COM(85)801 p9)[33] Those applications to the ESF to be encouraged were only those offering training or recruitment to

> "jobs for women in *occupations in which they are under-represented*, (which often implies the use of new technologies)." (COM (85)801 p23; emphasis is mine)

This emphasis on 'occupations of under-representation' with only a adjunct to new technology influenced the applications of the time - many of which similarly appended new technology training to the main skill area.[34] Furthermore it also influenced the subsequent interpretations of policy. For it is this reference to under-representation, rather than new technology, which was, as will be seen below, subsequently adopted and developed through the ESF system of Guidelines and Priorities.

Arguably, the most major change to the structure within which Member State interpretations of ESF policy takes place, was instigated through the 1988 Reforms of the Structural Funds. This Reform marks the most recent and major alterations to both the Priorities for funding, and the processes and structures for administering it. It effectively devolved funding power (and hence influence on training provision) away from 'Brussels' and back to the individual Member State government. To recap, Objectives 3 and 4 are the ones relating to training the 'unemployed' - of which 'women' are one of the specified target groups. (COM(90)516) 'Race' was not included in the Treaty of Rome and this omission has not been rectified since. The Commission drew up one Community Support Framework (CSF) for these two Objectives in each Member State for the three years: 1990-1992. (Official Journal No L64 1990; see also European File 1990b) The eligibility of unemployed women was narrowed down to those encountering *particular difficulties* on the labour market: implying unemployed women with few qualifications or 'marketable' skills - this tends to be white and black working class, not the

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[33] A consideration of this programme can be found in EC 1990.
[34] This is evidenced by Note 37 which contains information on other training projects for women.

educated middle-class.[35] This was the CSF relating to unemployed women which was agreed by all Member States. It no longer mentions 'under-representation' or 'traditional' or 'new technology'. It merely specified the parameters within which the individual Member States would then negotiate the CSFs into Priorities which would reflect their own training and employment policies. This is a most important change in ESF funding procedure.

The House of Lords Report (1988) briefly detailed differing government departments' response to the CSFs. These ranged from the DTI's fear of an "unnecessary increase in bureaucracy" to the DE's more optimistic assumption of increased cooperation from the Commission. The Report also recorded the Local Authorities' hope of greater local involvement in the formation of policy and in decision-making. (p14) The extent of this 'hope' is clarified by the previous year's EC Report (EC 1986a), which, in considering the relationship between Central and Local governments concludes

> "that Central governments were preventing LAs from fulfilling this role .... either by refusing to give LAs a general competence to intervene or by withholding or cutting back resources." (p4)

All the Member States, except Italy, prioritised Objective 3 (unemployed adults aged over 25), over Objective 4 (unemployed people aged under 25), and all the Member States, except Luxembourg, specified women in both Objectives; the majority showed women as their number 3 Priority. The exceptions to this general consensus are Germany, who show women as Priority 1 in both Objectives; Italy, who give women the lowest Priority in both Objectives; and Luxembourg, who mention women first in Objective 3, and not at all in Objective 4. (Official Journal No L64 1990)

The 1988 Reforms have increased individual Member States' control over their 'national' allocation. The significance of this is two fold: firstly the sums involved: the allocations for each Member State for Objectives 3 and 4, for the period 1990-92, are shown in

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35 The continuation of this trend can be identified within the 1993 proposed changes to the ESF outlined in Note 36.

Table 18. The second point of significance is that of the Member States' control over funding allocation. This means they have increased power to fund programmes according to their individual national criteria - funding given to favoured areas of training, automatically (given that the pot is not bottomless) prevents the funding of training in other less-favoured areas.

Following on from this extremely significant Structural Funds Reform, (1988), came an EC Report entitled *Education and Training in the approach to 1992*. (European File 1990a) Throughout this Report there is only one specific mention of women and that is in relation to the IRIS programme.[36] This invisibility of women is reinforced throughout the section on 'adults' by the continual reference to the worker as 'he'.

The *third action programme (1991-1996) on equal opportunities for women* responding to the Structural Funds Reform, refers back to the second programme, reiterating the need for measures which will encourage women towards occupations of under-representation. (COM(90)449)[37] The 'fundamental objective' is the promotion of women's full participation throughout the labour market, and an "increase in the value of their contribution". (COM(90)449 p2) It states the need for an increase in both participation and level of contribution as being a direct response to the rapid technological changes of the late twentieth century, and to the demographic changes occurring throughout the Community. The need, although couched in the equal opportunity language of access and choice, is a clear response to the economic needs of the European Community.

The earlier emphasis on new technology is absent, or at least submerged beneath the broader concept of under-representation. It is is not even mentioned in the employment or labour market sections. This is despite the Commission's own Recommendation of November 1987, (Social Europe 8/89), and the findings of the Toledo Seminar of 1989 which both stressed the need for training in the

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36 For consideration of IRIS see p27 and p33/4.
37 See also Women of Europe 34/91.

'occupations of the future' such as new technology. (Social Europe 3/89) Instead, this third action programme emphasises training for Local Employment Initiatives (LEIs) and for women setting-up their 'own enterprises' or cooperatives.

From the general statement of intent towards occupations of under-representation, and the emphasis on new enterprises/cooperatives, the specific focus of concern in the third action programme is on 'atypical' working patterns, 'quality' of work and sexual harassment.[38] Neither the economic necessity for paid employment, nor an acknowledgment of the hierarchical under-representation of women, nor any acknowledgment of class, race or disability differentials, nor to reiterate, any mention of new technology training, is evident in this Report of which its very existence is to influence policy intention, interpretation and implementation. This is similar to the equally narrow concept of women's employment contained in the 1989 EC Report *Employment in Europe* (COM(89)399 FINAL) which also concentrates on the 'atypical' - part-time work, homeworking et cetera, and which in the section on 'new technology' does not mention women at all.

The recommendations on specific aspects of training, as detailed in the earlier second action programme, have been replaced by generalisations. The second action programme had emphasised under-representation and new technology. New technology is now missing, and the omission has made a broader interpretation of intentions by individual Member States far easier than would have otherwise been possible. Furthermore, the supposedly non-gender specific general Reports on vocational training make progressively less mention of women, in some cases 'vaporizing' them away altogether in their continued reference to the male worker.

The following analysis of the EC interpretation of ESF policy centres on the concept of class. The lack of class analysis discernable throughout the EC's 'equal opportunities' discourse,

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[38] A gendered analysis of 'atypical' working patterns was included in Chapter 2, p57.

becomes even more apparent in this, the most recent, *third action programme on equal opportunities for women.*[39] These documents point towards the consistent positioning of working class unemployed women against that of working class men: the inequality to be addressed is 'gender' based. 'Under-representation' is a crucial concept within the 'equal opportunities' discourse. Within the EC documents it has two relationships. The first is that of *occupational* 'under-representation' and not *hierarchical*. The second is that of occupational 'under-representation' in relation to the occupational dominance of working-class *men*. This discourse does not appear to address the positioning of working-class women against that of middle-class/educationally privileged *women* - and is certainly never positioned against middle-class men. 'Inequality' for working-class women is also 'class' based, and unless 'equal opportunities' policies address this, which includes addressing the class based inequalities existing *between women* then any connected policy, such as that of the ESF, will also be weakened by this omission.

UK policy interpretation.

The European interpretation of policy has been shown to emphasise and prioritise training for occupations of under-representation whilst simultaneously neglecting or demoting applications for training relating to hierarchical under-representation. As this section will show, the significance of the subsequent British interpretation is the addition and emphasis placed on the concept of *'traditional'* under-representation.

In this way, the British government have prioritised training in occupations of *traditional under-representation*, and have not only neglected training related to hierarchical under-representation, but have also relegated new technology training *for this particular section of working-class women* to an appended low-level basic

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[39] Neither do these documents indicate any race analysis. Therefore, everything said in this section regarding the lack of class analysis would equally apply to race based inequality. The concentration on class reflects the economic position of white and black women trainees targeted in the case study project as meeting the ESF funding requirements.

introduction to 'end-user' skills. The significance of this is considered below.

The point to be made at the beginning of this consideration of the UK interpretation is that neither of these stressed concepts of 'under-representation' or 'traditional' appear in the Commission's Structural Funds Reform of 1988. Furthermore, neither do they appear in the specific 1990-2 CSF agreement between the UK and the EC. The previous section showed the EC's focus on under-representation starting with the 1977 Reform and reinforced through both the *1984 Recommendation* and the *Second action programme for women*. The *Third action programme for women* continues the emphasis on 'under-representation' but the important point to be repeated here is that the legally binding Structural Funds Reform and the CSF do not. The UK government's interpretation of the CSF reflects the earlier Reforms and Recommendations, as well as the second and third action programmes for women. The significance of the 1988 Reform and CSF agreements is that it allows Member States far more room for such interpretations.[40]

This change in emphasis clearly lay in the subsequent *re-*interpretation of the agreed CSF by the British government. Although there existed a near-consensus in the individually agreed CSFs from the Member States, in this following example from the United Kingdom the agreed CSF becomes more firmly placed within the national context of training and economic development. The following references and quotes illustrate this point. They are taken from the British DE's ESF Unit publications *European Social Fund - Guidance on Applications* for the years 1991 to 93. (UK/ESFU 1991; 1992; 1993) Preston (1991) points out that the ESFU, as a section of the Department of Employment,

> "has a major say in *project choice* as well as an information dissemination function." (p39; emphasis is mine)

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40 This process of decentralisation to Member States can be found in the following texts: COM(87)376/2/FINAL/ 8251/87; COM(90)516; COM(90)334; House of Lords 1988.

The 1991 document begins by actively encouraging training schemes for women entering *non-traditional* areas of employment. (ESFU 1991 p1) This, as stated above, is a crucial point in the British interpretation: the extent to which they have taken up and emphasised the notion of *traditional under-representation*. This is evidenced through the analysis of the following documents.

For instance, the *ESFU 1991 Guidelines* states that the beneficiary category 'women' can only be used in those applications relating to measures connected with areas of *under-representation*. (ESFU 1991 p14) By page 35, the training Priorities for unemployed women become even more particular, for the DE states that the 'Priority 3' CSF agreement specified training for

> "women in occupations where they have been *traditionally under-represented*." (ESFU 1991 p35; emphasis is mine)

But as was shown above - it did not state this: this is the UK *interpretation* of that agreement. Between the CSF Priorities being agreed and the British DE Guidelines being published, a decision has been made to emphasis *traditional* under-representation. This reference to 'traditional under-representation' is then reiterated and reinforced throughout the rest of the 1991 Guidelines. Furthermore, there is no mention, anywhere in these Guidelines, of new technology training for women.

The DE again 'legitimizes' its Guidelines by stating that this criterion is

> "based on the Community Support Framework for Great Britain and other established practices under the ESF", (ESFU 1991 p33),

and therefore applications,

> "must facilitate the integration of women into occupations where they are *traditionally under-represented*."
> (ESFU 1991 p35 and p40; emphasis is mine)

Interestingly, inserted into the above DE preamble, are the words "other established practices under the ESF" (ESFU p33), for this implies that previous practice, Priorities and Guidelines can

continue to operate, even if they are not specifically covered in the agreed CSF for 1990-92. The DE therefore continues to prioritise training unemployed women in areas of 'traditional under-representation' at the expense of providing training for either new technology or advancement in traditional areas of work.

This UK re-interpretation of the CSF is continued, and 'firmed-up' through both the 1992 and the 1993 ESFU Guidelines. The 1992 Guidelines state:

> "Schemes which train or retrain disabled people, migrants and *women going into non-traditional areas are encouraged.*" (p1: the italic emphasis is mine)
>
> "Courses **must** facilitate the integration of women into *occupations where they are traditionally under-represented.*" (p44: the italic emphasis is mine).

The emphasis on "**must**" on the ESFU (1992) page 44 is that of the DE. It is printed in bold and underlined. This remains so in the 1993 Guidelines. The stress is clear: courses **must** relate to occupations of traditional under-representation. Furthermore, nowhere in either the 1992 or the 1993 ESFU Guidelines is there any mention of either new-technology training, or of training related to hierarchical under-representation.

It is apparent from these UK/ESFU Guidelines that the declared intention of the 1988 Reform to "decentralise decisions on the allocation of funds" (COM(90)516 p5 Executive Summary) have, within Britain, been effective. The DE's influential hold on ESF funded British training has clearly been strengthened.

The importance of this re-interpretation of the CSF is that despite the veneer provided by the discourse of equal opportunities, the evidence does not point to a widening of choice or of increased opportunity. For all the indications are that these unemployed working-class women are largely being offered working-class men's jobs: that being the class/race equivalent occupation of *traditional* under-representation. This British re-interpretation means that the class/race based male equivalent - traditional manual skills - is

not being offered women as a 'choice' but as one of the very few such well funded, and emotionally and materially supported, available options.

The sections on the EC and the UK interpretation of policy has shown that the 1977 Reform second level Priority of training for hierarchical under-representation has disappeared. The *Second action programme's* pointer to under-representation in respect of women in new technology was, through the British emphasis on *traditional* under-representation for unemployed working-class women, simply appended to the main skill area. This class/gender based marginalisation of new technology training has increased with the subsequent 1990-2 CSF and the *Third action programme for women*: both of which no longer mention new technology training. The process of interpretations relating to new technology training is considered in the following section.

New technology training.

At the same time as these interpretations, including those of merely appending new technology, were being made, there were, throughout the eighties, numerous EC reports stressing the *foreseen* impact of new technology, its consequences for production and employment, and the recommendation for relevant vocational training. Typically, for instance:

> "There are virtually no sectors or occupations which information technology has not already affected - or will not affect in the future. Forecasts indicate that by the year 2000, two out of three jobs will be affected by information and communications technology. ..... The types of skills and qualifications in demand are .... those with increasing requirements involving mental flexibility, responsibility and planning skills and basic understanding of new technologies." (COM(89)399 FINAL p134-5) [41]

[41] The extent of EC concern regarding the future impact of new technology and the related need for training is evidenced through the following texts: EC 1975; Background Report 3/80; Background Report 1982a; European File 1980a; EC 1987b; European File 16/80; European File 8/84; European File 1990a; ILO 1985a; Social Europe 3/86a; Social Europe 1/90; Social Europe 6/86; Social Europe 3/90a; Social Europe 1985a; Social Europe 1985b; Social Europe 2/92. The impact of new technology on the labour market is also considered by Brown & Scase 1991.

The UK government itself, in its 1984 Report *Training for Jobs*, stated:

> "The (MSC) will be expected to give priority to provision for newly emerging skills such as electronics and robotics and for occupations where traditional programmes no longer match industrial and commercial needs." (CMND 9135, 1984 p348)

Much reference is made throughout these Reports to the vulnerability of women's occupations: within manufacturing, catering and textiles the routine production work carried out predominantly by women was predicted to be replaced by technology.[42] The Commission's Official Journal (OJC 322), in 1986 wrote:

> "... emphasise the danger that in particular computerization and automatization in the manufacture of goods, in offices and in trade may make women redundant or alter their jobs so that women with their present occupational qualifications *may lose their jobs and be affected to a greater extent by the negative consequences of new technology, without being able to reap the benefit thereof.*" (OJC 322 1986 p70; the emphasis is mine)

The Report therefore recommended that:

> "Specialist training should be designed to enable working women to adapt to new, more up-to-date working working methods and equipment." (p68) [43]

The traditional non-manual work of women such as typing and clerical work is forecast to be replaced by for instance computers, word processing and, electronic mail. More recently this key-board servicing of others is itself becoming redundant as those in 'higher/managerial' positions increasingly 'keyboard' their own work at their own personal computer.[44] Examples of this latest impact on women's traditional office work are in practically every office in

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[42] Chapters 2 and 6 contain a full discussion of the position of women within the labour market.

[43] Similar recommendations are also made in the following texts: EC 1988b; Social Europe 1985a; EC 1985a; EC 1984b; EC 1984c; EC 1984d; Social Europe 1985b; EC 1987d; EOC 1992. Further discussion of the position of women in relation to new technology can also be found in Kanawaty 1985; Mandon 1988; Cockburn 1983, 1985; and Wajcman 1991.

[44] This process is discussed in EC 1988b and Mandon 1988. And, for the projected effect on women's work within manufacturing industries, see Elson & Pearson 1989; Goldstein 1989; Pearson 1989; Cockburn 1992; Kanawaty 1985; and EOC 1992.

the country.[45] Particular examples can be seen in, for instance, the transactions involved in banking and finance, (EC 1984c), for example the extent of computerisation, electronic communication, information systems, and tills in the wall. It is also clearly identifiable in the processes involved in retail work - computerised stock control, and computerised check-outs systems - and of course the linkage of the retail system with that of banking through electronic automatic debit. (EC 1985a; EOC 1992)

Based on such predictions as these, the majority of the EC Reports referenced in the previous paragraph stressed that women should be a highly prioritised group for the targeting of new technology training. The previous sections of this Chapter have traced this development through the EC and UK interpretations of policy. It showed that this emphasis was reinforced through the *Second equal opportunities action programme for women*, (COM(85)801), and contained in the EC funding Priorities and Guidelines. Throughout the 1980s, within the UK, this demand from the European Community for new technology training was commonly translated into tokenistic 'end-user' training appended to the main training, as for example, with the construction skills described in the case study.

In Britain, the Women's Training Network (1991) have produced information relating to eighteen ESF funded women's training schemes.[46] These details regarding British projects are clearly in line with the observations of the ESF's 16th Report (1988) which noticed throughout the Community that:

> "New technologies are used as an educational support. In terms of skills, they are not systematically integrated in the training content .... and in any case it seldom goes beyond the initiation level." (COM (88)701 p57)

Training in new technology skills, although often 'added-on' to the original area of training (as with construction skills), *is*

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[45] This is discussed in Social Europe 1985b and EC 1984b.
[46] See Note 37 for details and analysis. Other than this, financial information is the only data available, from either the ESF or the DE, in relation to successful applications. This was discussed more fully in Chapter 3. See also Note 12.

nevertheless being provided. However, the crux of the matter is that this training is restricted to the most basic levels of qualification with little or no organised structure for a woman's further development. Such training provides these women only with the skills necessary for the low-status, low-paid slots in the technologically changing labour-market - nothing more. However, these projects illustrate only the results of the *second action programme*. For, as shown above, reference to new technology training has been effectively dropped by the EC: there being no reference to it in the 1988 Reform, the CSFs, the *third action programme*, or the *ESFU Guidelines* (1992, 1993).

A CEDEFOP Report on vocational training within the Community points out that it is men who mostly benefit from training in new technology.[47] (EC 1988c) The ESF priority system and the British interpretation of the CSF have kept working-class women away from the power of development, control, knowledge and understanding of new technology and electronics. A later CEDEFOP Report on *Information technology/microcomputer projects for women in EC countries*, found that training for computer-aided office work predominated amongst the European projects studied. (EC 1985c) This Report describes women's experience of computer technology as being "only 'on the surface'", and refers to them being denied the chance to investigate the internal workings of a computer or to *experiment with other applications or software*. (EC 1985c p69; emphasis is mine)

There are two basic levels for understanding the 'mechanics' of computer technology: that of the electronics which make it work; and that of the potential of the software - firstly, how to write it, and secondly, and of equal importance, the ability to engage with it and creatively use it. Not all the powerful new-technology-centred jobs held by men depend upon knowledge of the interior electronics of the system. The crucial difference in 'end-user' technology training seems to be between that of active creative engagement or

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47 CEDEFOP refers to the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training.

passive manual key-boarding. This is as important an area of gendering as that of the more obvious area of electronic engineering itself.[48]

So, to reiterate, by the 1990s new technology training is no longer stressed in the EC Priority Guidelines; it is not mentioned at all in the *Third action programme on equal opportunities for women*; nor is it mentioned in the 1988 Reform, the CSF, or either the 1992 or 1993 UK *ESFU Guidelines*. From the emphasis placed on it during the mid eighties, to this state of relegation and omission is a significant change over a very short period of time. From this observation of the data, a number of key questions emerge. Why has new technology training been 'dropped' ? Is new technology no longer having *any* influence on the work-place - either within its own industries,[49] or in its influence or impact on other occupations,[50] or on production in other industries ?[51] Were the Reports of the 1980s *completely* wrong in their predictions of the impact and importance of new technology ?

These emergent questions cannot be addressed through any further analysis of EC or UK related documents, for it is these documents themselves which have generated the questions. These questions can therefore only be addressed by considering them in relation to the labour market. Has new technology had any impact on the labour market ? If so, in what ways ? And, finally, what are the indications for the future ?

What is the relevance of the 'equal opportunities' discourse towards this partial prioritisation and subsequent neglect of new technology training ? It would appear that equal opportunities has concerned itself with training aimed at increasing 'access'; at opening doors to *occupations of traditional under-representation* which have

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[48] Pages 63/67 contain a discussion which focuses on the concept of occupational gendering.
[49] For example, telecommunications, information technology, computer production and software production.
[50] For example, banking, retail, nursing.
[51] For example, manufacturing, catering, textiles.

previously been firmly closed to women. Essentially, in this area, it has declared its intention to broaden the occupational 'choice' of working-class white and black women. Yet this door, marked 'traditional under-representation', whilst allegedly being opened, obscures the existence of other doors. Behind one lay the stairs of hierarchical under-representation. The other door, the one to the future skills of new technology, if not exactly shut, is not clearly sign-posted either. And these doors, representing the areas of concern of this chapter, are only three of an unknown quantity of 'doors'. Behind an equal opportunities facade of *traditional* under-representation, a smokescreen has been created behind which the skills and knowledge of the present and future are effectively being gendered into male hands.

The EC Reports throughout the 1980s, as well as identifying occupations and sections of the population most at risk from new technology, also concerned themselves with the risk to the EC from the new technology based threat of Japan and the USA.[52] These Reports repeatedly point out that the threat, although based in economics, *is also political and related to power*.[53]

The importance of the interpretations and neglect of new technology training for women can be highlighted through the following analogy which is based on the similarity existing between these two sets of relationships in respect to new technology. The relationship of women to men can be seen as analogous to that of the EC towards Japan and the USA. Men and Japan/USA are the beneficiaries of new technology; women and the EC, the potential losers. The concern here is not simply economic, but political and related to power: the technological power of the future is being gendered male. These high-value skills of new technology are growing ever more secure in male hands; these skills have the status and earning power for both

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[52] This risk, discussed more fully in Chapter 2, p25/6 and p28, can be located in the following texts: European File 8/84; Background Report 1980b; European File 3/80; European File 16/80; EC Background Report 1982b; EC Background Report 1987; Social Europe 2/92.

[53] This is explicitly stated in the following: EC Background Report 1982b; EC Background Report 1987; European File 3/80; European File 8/84.

the present and the foreseeable future.[54] Furthermore, the process of gendering is directly related to time, the longer the period the more the entrenchment of gendering which takes place.

> "History has shown that if women only accede to a new area after men, then they will only occupy the least interesting positions in these professions, even if they are just as capable." (EC 1987d p66)

Also, the impact of new technology spreads out, having a greater and greater impact on other, supposedly more traditional non-technological occupations. Therefore to be denied these skills - and in particular the creative, flexible use of these skills, will close many other occupations to the un-technologically skilled as well as those occupations clearly linked with new technology.

Implementation of policy within the UK.

It is extremely difficult, effectively impossible, to obtain either European or British information regarding the training programmes run, the qualifications gained or the employment results achieved. As mentioned above, and in line with its economic base, the only information given is financial. What 'official' information there is available on the outcomes of this funding is restricted to statistical and financial data on the number of projects, number of trainees, and amounts allocated and spent. The content of the training offered, the method of the training and subsequent evaluations, other than as a spasmodic one-off report, has proved impossible to find.

The EC Report (1987e) *Reinsertion of Women in Working Life*, considering the objectives of training initiatives during the first half of the 1980s, focuses on the extent to which such training leads to paid employment. Firstly, confirming the findings of the case study, the Report identifies the trainees' prime need as being paid employment. Secondly, it points to the funding organisations' (that is the ESF and the national and local governments') concern "to improve the employment situation and to reduce unemployment."

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[54] See the following texts for the gendering of new technology: Cockburn 1983, 1985, 1986; Finn 1987; Mahony & Van Toen 1990; Wajcman 1991; and, in relation to the ESF, Brine 1992.

(p85) The Report then remarks on the course organisers' criticism of the evaluations based on employment statistics. The 'course organisers' of this Report can be likened to the 'workers' of the case study. Their critique of the funders' assessment criteria is summarized by the Report as follows:

> "It is unfair to expect (the course organisers/workers) to solve the problem of the job shortage arising from the economic situation. For them the assessment should be made not in terms of figures - which makes them a sort of scapegoat - but in terms *of changes, of transformations in the behaviour and attitudes of 'woman returners'* who are *seeking an identity and autonomy together with new operational modes and knowledge*." (EC 1987e p86; emphasis is that of the Report)

The emphasis is shifted by course organisers/workers away from employment criteria and onto:

> "... social insertion, psychological reassurance and practical assistance in job hunting, together with the effects of the symbolic content of the training (eg the decrease in depressions and other psychosomatic illness, the personal development of the women, the renewed interest of their families etc)." (EC 1987e p86)

The tone of this language presents a pathological picture of the targeted trainees. The workers interviewed in the case study expressed a similar argument of justification. This emphasis on what can be generally included under the heading 'confidence gaining' avoids the clear economic necessity of the trainees' desire for paid employment. This justifying concept raises questions regarding what happens to the 'increased confidence' once these women return to the isolation, the unsupported childcare, the relative degrees of poverty resulting from unemployment, so described in the case study. No such research has been found. This use of 'increased confidence' can be used to mask the lack of more tangible 'employment' results. Furthermore the concept also provokes the question of the extent and durability of 'increased confidence' which accompanies paid employment.

Continuing this consideration of 'training results', another EC Report of 1987(d): *Diversification of Vocational Choices for Women* states:

> "*We must take care against the setting up of 'alibi' training courses.* It would be regrettable, indeed blameworthy, to make women, during a long and demanding period, train for masculine jobs which are greatly affected by unemployment ... or jobs which men themselves do not want anymore because of the actual conditions of work and pay. .....
> Many women *leave* the non-traditional employment for which they have been trained, after a year, for example, because they are *too tired*. We must not overestimate their physical resistance. As in construction jobs (painters, floor and carpet fitters, plumbers, plasterers, etc) or women lorry drivers for example: after a certain time, some women leave to specialize in something less tiring and so we find them again in the offices and technical-commercial departments of the areas in questions." (EC 1987d p63; the emphasis is that of the Report).

To this list of trained women 'leaving to specialize in something less tiring' it must be added, as the workers of the case study remarked (p161): to become instructors on ESF vocational training schemes for women.

This lack of non-financial information is compounded by an equal lack of theoretical work relating to the field of women's vocational training. Whilst the past decade has seen a considerable development in British class, race and gender theory relating to vocational education in schools, or in school-work transition, there is a remarkable lack of theory relating to the vocational training of unemployed women. A degree of 'low-status', or neglect, would appear to have been shown towards the training of unemployed working-class women by academia, as well as by most other social institutions.[55]

A stated policy intention of the ESF has been the vocational training of a flexible labour-force. This labour-force 'flexibility' has been cloaked in the language of 'equal opportunities'.[56] This discourse is however, ridden with class and race assumptions and divisions. White and black working-class women are encouraged into areas reflecting their class/race male

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[55] A relevant discussion concerning the historical gendering of vocational training can be found on p72/4 and p81/2.
[56] The concept of 'discourse' is outlined on p87[63].

counterparts: the manual trades - that is, if they are encouraged at all. The majority of women remain employed in traditional gendered areas of the labour force, with low status, low pay and negligible choice or chance for advancement.[57]

The UK use of 'traditional' is interpreted, within the discourse of equal opportunities, to mean 'access to men's traditional jobs'. The lack of class analysis within this discourse does nothing to counteract the historical class bias identified in Chapter 2, and still seen to be influencing British vocational training policy. In this way 'access to men's traditional jobs' is interpreted to mean 'access of working-class women to working-class men's traditional jobs' - eg manual skills of the construction trade. This discourse of 'equal opportunities', rooted as it is to the economy rather than any ethical notion of 'social justice', by its very nature can only advocate individualistic solutions to group inequalities (gender, class or race based), for these group inequalities are necessary to the economic survival of western liberal-democracy. The vocational training funded by the ESF operates within this liberal-democratic framework.

Conclusion.

The ESF is a European response to the economic needs of the European Community. It is embedded in the tradition and the contradictions of liberal-democracy and, as such, works to maintain and further the growth of capitalism. The Guidelines and Priorities of the 1977 Reform used a discourse of equal opportunities to encourage the training of unemployed women (mainly white and black working-class) into 'new jobs and areas of under-representation'. Britain interpreted 'under-representation' as 'traditional', thereby effectively ignoring new technology training except as an 'end-user' appendage to the main training. (COM(88)701) Such training has also prevented women from increasing their qualifications in areas of traditional work. Despite the subsequent Reforms of 1988 and the

[57] The position of women within the labour force is fully explored in Chapters 2 and 6. Key texts include: Mazey 1987; Cockburn 1988; Mandon 1988; Walby 1988; Elson & Pearson 1989; Goldstein 1989; OJC 332/1986.

broad training terms of the agreed CSF, Britain continued to firstly, direct applications towards 'traditional under-representation' skill areas, and secondly to emphasise that applications for the vocational training of women **must** be related to occupations of traditional under-representation. (UK/ESFU Guidelines 1992; 1993)

This British emphasis on training women in areas of traditional under-representation has followed the same trend as that pursued through TVEI and YT which has also operated within a class and race bias.[58] Traditional male skills reflect the class base of the girls or women concerned. For example, 50% of the British projects outlined by the Women's Training Network (Note 37) operate a positive selection policy towards women with no educational qualifications. These projects, like those of YT and TVEI, are draped in the liberal-democratic language of 'equal opportunities' and can be seen as an attempt to respond to the late twentieth century's needs of the western European and British economy.

However, the effects of patriarchy are equally as strong as those of capitalism, and have ensured that class for class, and race for race, men are retaining their economic power over women.[59] Working-class girls/women are encouraged into manual skills; middle-class into science and engineering:[60] in either case they are unlikely to disrupt the hierarchies of entrenched male power existing in those industries. Cockburn (1987) echoing the responses of the case study, observes that those young women engaged in manual trades training are encouraged "to look for things that 'girls could do'": in engineering, wrought iron-work; in carpentry, wooden toy making, thereby taking "them out of direct competition with males." (Cockburn 1987 p132) Within traditional male manual trades, certain

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[58] See Note 4. Key texts include: Cockburn 1987; Finn 1987; McCulloch 1987; Holland 1988; Weiner 1989, 1990a; Ainley 1990; Bates 1990; Hollands 1990.

[59] Note 5, contains a relevant discussion on the gendering of skill.

[60] WITEC for example, is a European network of universities "working for the motivation, development and support of women in science, technology and enterprise." (WITEC 1992 p2)

areas become associated with women: those areas become feminised', thereby lessening the supposed threat to masculinity. (EC 1980b) What this means is that the hierarchy of male power is maintained in those areas of traditional male skills into which women are being encouraged. At the same time, the lack of training for higher qualifications in women's traditional skill areas - that of hierarchical under-representation covered by the second Priority of the 1977 ESF Reform, equally effectively maintains the hierarchy of male power there.

Putting aside for one moment the continual neglect of training related to hierarchical under-representation, there still remains two aspects to the concentration on traditional under-representation: the first is the training given - traditional manual skills, and its relevance to the needs of the labour market; the second is the training which is not given: new technology.

This Chapter has addressed the encapsulating question generated by the case study. This was:

> "Why did the funders fund this particular sort of training to these particular women, and why not something else ?"

However, this Chapter's focus on the intentions and subsequent interpretations of ESF policy has, whilst identifying the *process* of interpretation and its subsequent implementation into training projects, also generated many other questions. The analysis of ESF policy and its interpretation has only been able to, partially, address the tentative hypothesis formed from the questions generated by the case study. This is the hypothesis which read:

> The funders' explicitly stated aim that the intention of the training was to increase employment, was of secondary importance to their primary, and less-explicit, aim of constructing a *visible* equal opportunities policy.

The discourse of 'equal opportunities' was seen to be a major influence on the *interpretation* of ESF policy. Whilst it is not possible to say that the funders' primary intention *was* to construct

a visible equal opportunities policy, it certainly has played a powerful and dominant role in the choice of training provided to working-class unemployed women. Emerging from the data in this Chapter is the indication that the equal opportunities policy is interpreted as meaning *gender* and not class.[61] Therefore, the analysis concluded that non-traditional manual skills represented a response to what was seen as *gender* based inequality. The ESF-related equal opportunities discourse did not appear to address the notion of inequality as being either class or race based.

However, the extent to which the intention of the funders was related to employment is disputable: for although this has been a continuously explicit aim of the policy, its effectiveness cannot be judged from these same source documents. The reason for this is that no matter how many times the intention is stated, it can, over such a lengthy period, only be evaluated by the results it brings.[62] The policy documents considered in this Chapter do not themselves provide this information. Therefore, this particular aspect of the hypothesis remains, at this stage, unaddressed.

To reiterate, the intention of the ESF is firmly linked with the needs of the labour market. Therefore, any evaluation of this intention can only be addressed by consideration of the labour market itself. The questions generated from the analysis of data in this Chapter are: firstly, given that the aim of ESF vocational training is to increase employment in the trained area, has manual skills training represented the most efficient use of ESF money, and has it related to the needs of the labour market ? Secondly, what is the occupational and hierarchical position of women in the labour market - can this position be addressed through a class analysis as well as a gender one ?[63] Thirdly, what has been the impact of new technology on the labour market - and does this also have gender, class or race implications ? And finally, what are the future

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[61] Furthermore, within the EC interpretation of equal opportunities policies, neither is 'race' a consideration.
[62] This period is defined as that which began with the 1977 Reform.
[63] Similarly the labour market position of women needs also to be analysed according to, for instance, race, ethnicity and disability.

indications for the labour market ? These questions can be encapsulated in the following generative question which reinforces the hypothesis generated by the case study:

> "How do these policy intentions and interpretations actually relate to the needs and trends of the labour market ?"

This means that, in addition to this original hypothesis:

> *The funders' explicitly stated aim that the intention of the training was to increase employment, was of secondary importance to their primary, and less-explicit, aim of constructing a visible equal opportunities policy.*

the analysis of the ESF and UK policy data of this Chapter has generated a further tentative hypothesis which can also only be addressed through the study of the position of women in the labour market. This hypothesis is:

> *The funders' exclusive gender-based interpretation of their equal opportunities policies tend to promote training directed more towards access to 'male' occupations, and less towards the needs of, and therefore employability within, the labour market.*

CHAPTER 6

THE LABOUR MARKET.

Introduction.

The intention of this Chapter is to further address the hypothesis generated by the case study and its subsequent refinement through the previous Chapters consideration of ESF and UK policy documents and interpretations. The dominant question generated by the analysis of the policy documents was:

> How do these policy intentions and interpretations actually relate to the needs and trends of the labour market ?

The following general analysis of secondary data relating to the UK and European labour markets, and especially the focus on the position of women, is reliant upon the understanding of the field of study considered in depth in Chapter 2. Of underlying importance is the concept of labour market segmentation.[1] More immediately evident throughout the entire Chapter are the concepts of sex segregation of the labour market and in particular that of the gender segmented labour force found in the work of Cynthia Cockburn and Sylvia Walby.[2] The concept of the gendering of the labour market is linked to this model of sex segmentation, and this is

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[1] See Chapter 2, p46/8, where the key texts referred to are Pond 1989 and Sarre 1989a. Other references included: Edwards, Gordon & Reich 1975; Barron & Norris 1976; Atkinson 1984; Dex 1985; Allen & Massey 1988.

[2] Reasons for choosing the socialist-radical feminist 'gender segmentation' model instead of the other two sex segmentation models ('liberal' sex-role stereotyping or 'Marxist' human capital) are detailed in Chapter 2, p48/9.

central to the following labour market analysis.[3] Whilst, throughout this Chapter, frequent reference will be made to these concepts, repeated individual reference either to a specific text or to Chapter 2 will be kept to an absolute minimum. This is done in order to improve the readability of the text and to ease the development of the analysis of the data. For the same reason the relevant detailed Tables, taken from European Commission Reports and British government labour market studies, are located in Appendix 3 rather than embodied in the main text. The highlighted points are not the result of selective reading of the texts but are those considered relevant to this thesis.[4]

This Chapter attempts to understand the broad trends of the European and British labour markets, and within this, the movements affecting the occupations already described as relevant to this study: those within the construction and property maintenance industry, and occupations relating to new technology. The next section of the Chapter focuses on the current position of women within the labour market, and the future consequences of both the position and the identifiable trends are considered. The final section returns to the economic base of the ESF and considers, briefly, the use of the discourse of 'equal opportunities', questioning the relevance of the discourse to the labour market.[5] This leads finally to a return to the earlier feminist concern with the theories of patriarchy or capitalism as a means of explaining the oppression of women. The conclusion considers the findings from this Chapter in relation to the hypothesis generated from the case study and the analysis of ESF and UK policy documents.

General trends in the EC and UK labour markets.

The general trends within EC and UK labour markets were, throughout the 1970s and early '80s, the decline of manual work, the decline of the manufacturing industry and the rise of both the service industry

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[3] This concept is discussed on p.61/67, and similarly draws largely on the work of Cockburn and Walby.

[4] Note 40 provides the English equivalent of the Member States' names.

[5] This concept was defined on p87[63].

and industries related to the production and use of new technology.[6] The 'key employment indicators' for the EC from 1965 to 1991 are the rise in general population and 'working age' population; the decline of employment in agriculture and industry, and the rise in services, (Table 19). These general trends apply to both men and women.[7] Five current areas of challenge to the European economy have been identified and are detailed in Note 38.

Throughout the European Community, over the period 1975 to 1985

> "All countries record significant growth for hotels and catering, communication, financial and business services, and the large 'other services' category which covers many services to persons, including education, health or public administration." (EC 1987b p12; see also OECD 1991)

Yet, in 1990, there was considerable unemployment from those same sectors - possibly this reflects the seasonal nature of such work. (see below) The significance of this growth in the service sector is that it is one of the major areas of employment for women, and therefore this growth

> "may also represent a strengthening of the established pattern of occupational segmentation of women." (EC 1992c p138)

This European growth in the services industry is equally true in the UK. (OECD 1991)

There have been many EC Reports which have considered the future of the labour market by looking at occupational changes. The significance of these, from the mid-eighties onwards, is that they provide a view of the labour market to which the unemployed women of this study were being trained to join. One such report was that entitled: *Where will the new jobs be ?* (Social Europe 3/86c) This forecast that non-manual occupations would increase, both in real numbers and as a percentage of the employed. It also predicted that

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[6] This understanding can be located in the following texts: Sarre 1989a; Yates 1985; Cockburn 1987; Hamnett et al 1989; Pond 1989; McDowell 1989; NEDO 1986.

[7] This is evidenced by the following reports: EC 1992c; EC 1989a; EC 1989b; OECD 1991.

> "managers and administrators, secretarial occupations, engineers, scientists, technicians and skilled personal service occupations in particular will increase in the reference period" - that is up to 1990. (Social Europe 3/86c p28)

These then, were the projections relating to the period focused on in this study. The training targeted on working class women has not related to these potential growth occupations. This Report predicts occupational changes from 1985 to 2000: engineers, technicians, middle and upper management (tertiary), are the occupations of most growth (minimum of 2%); health, social welfare, education and training are shown to increase from 5.2% to 7%; and finally, there is a predicted slight decrease in 'skilled workers' - the largest category, with 24%, (Table 20). These occupational changes are also identifiable in the UK.[8]

Reports on the UK labour market mirror these European studies on both trends in industry and occupational changes. Firstly, the trends in British industry. During the period 1969 to 1989, the OECD Report (1991) on the UK showed that the industry with the greatest decrease was 'manufacturing' which in 1969 employed 36.9% of all employees but by 1989 employed only 23%. This Report shows the industry with the largest increase to be 'finance, insurance, real estate and business services' which rose from 4.7% to 11.8%. There was also a 6% increase in those employed in 'community, social and personal services'. These trends in industry were considered in the House of Commons 3rd Report (1990/1 session) for their particular impact on the British economy. The tone of this Report, and in particular the submission from the Institute of Directors (IOD), is pessimistic. The following extract is typical of this, and it is included here because it indicates the general background to the future of the British economy against which vocational training policies must be viewed.

> "Over the period 1970 to 1988, UK manufactured exports to the EC rose by 210% in volume, but imports from the EC grew by 640%. The impact on Britain's trade balance was adverse and severe. Membership of the EC was

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[8] See in particular EC 1987c; OECD 1991. These changes are considered in more depth below.

> accompanied by a turnaround in UK manufacturing trade from a surplus in 1970 of £16.2 billion at 1988 prices to a deficit in 1988 of £15.7 billion. The position is even worse than this shows because in 1970 there was no North Sea oil. Although many jobs are created by trade within Europe, it is clear from the figures above that more jobs have been lost. This effect has had an impact on most industries in the UK. There is no reason to believe that '1992' will not accelerate this process." (House of Commons 3rd Report (1990/1 session) - extract of submission from the Institute of Directors, p40)

Similarly, occupational change in Britain reflects that of Europe. Until the recession of the early nineties, the employment growth has been that of professionals, technicians, managers and administrators.[9] This is not a new occupational trend. It was clearly identified in the 1970s. An EC Report (1987c) shows thirty-five occupations grew by 24+%:

> "Nine of these are from the professions (engineering, science, medicine, education, law and business); ten are in supervisory or lower level management occupations; and seven are in public service occupations connected with welfare, health and security, (most notably nurses). *All are white collar or non-manual occupations.*" (EC 1987c p50; emphasis is mine; see also OECD 1991)

The significance of this is its direct relevance to hierarchical under-representation rather than occupational, and its clear existence prior to the period of ESF funding focused on in this study.

Although the identification of this occupational trend is consistent from the seventies to the nineties, there has not been the same consistency in the ESF funding policy. As Chapter 5 showed, the Priority given in the early 1980s to hierarchical under-representation was quickly superseded, and subsequently replaced altogether, by the emphasis on occupational under-representation. The UK government's interpretation of the CSF as meaning 'areas of traditional under-representation' was identified as a significant aspect of this process. This interpretation has since been

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[9] This is evidenced in the following texts: Hamnett et al 1989; Pond 1989; Sarre 1989a; McDowell 1989.

increasingly reaffirmed through subsequent UK/ESFU Guidelines.[10] Whilst 'managerial' occupations have been increasing, a correspondingly consistent decline has been evident in manual occupations - especially 'skilled' ones.[11] The other major area of change within the labour market has been that of new technology, which has been expanding rapidly.[12]

Predictions for the British labour market are, as expected, in line with those for the European Community. The concluding section of the EC 1987(c) Report refers to the continued decline of the British manufacturing industry. It erroneously, (pre-recession), points towards an increase of employment within the finance sector. It is pessimistic about the construction industry, but sees a possible expansion in services to businesses. Despite the impact of new technology on the vast majority of other occupations, it concludes that "hi-tech jobs in high-tech industries will not provide a major source of new jobs." (EC 1987c p113)[13] The significance of new technology seems increasingly to be its spread into all other aspects of work - especially administration and production. The Report emphasises the importance of formal qualifications. It concludes:

> "Within production industries the need for high knowledge, high skill occupations will increase. ..... a general rise in the employment share of professional, technical and administrative occupations, as well as multiskilled craftsmen and technicians. ... The main growth areas will be in the service sector for professional employment and certain personal services and support occupations .... (and) a *sharp decline in traditional craft jobs*, semi-skilled and unskilled operatives across all sectors, but within manufacturing in particular." (EC 1987c p113)

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[10] Further gender specific consideration of hierarchical under-representation is given below, p244/250. See also Table 49 and Tables 53-60.

[11] The findings from studies on these trends cited in Chapter 2 are further reinforced by the following EC Reports: EC 1989a; EC 1992c. An extended extract from EC 1987c is located in Note 39, and provides a detailed account of these trends.

[12] See for instance the work of Cockburn 1987; Hamnett et al 1989; McDowell 1989. See also the discussion in Chapter 2.

[13] This is also referred to by Labour Market Quarterly Reports 8/89a and 8/90b.

The general trends of industry identified within both the European and British labour markets, and continuing through the latter half of the eighties and into the nineties are: the decline of manual skills and of manufacturing industry; the rise of the service industry and of industries related to new technology. The main occupational changes reported are the growth in managerial and secretarial occupations and the decline in manual ones. There is, in these Reports, no direct reference to occupations of new technology. This is partly due to a lack of occupational classification - which only becomes identifiable in more recent labour market statistics, (see below), and partly due to the biggest impact of new technology being on most other already existing occupations.

The segmentation models detailed in Chapter 2 are applicable to an understanding of the meaning of these trends for the workforce.[14] Sarre's (1989a) inclusion of the long-term unemployed is vital to any analysis of either the European or the British labour market. From a temporary decline in the mid 1980s, unemployment has, at the beginning of the nineties, risen again sharply.[15] Similarly, given the unemployment statistics below, any segmentation model which fails to account for the unemployed section is clearly deficient. The numbers of workers discarded from the labour-force are as relevant to late twentieth-century capitalism as that of either the core or the peripheral sections. Sarre's model is one of the underpinning concepts of the remainder of this Chapter, especially in the consideration of the class, race and gender differentials existing between those workers employed in the peripheral sector and those in the core.

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[14] Chapter 2 concluded that Sarre's 3-tiered model was most relevant to this study. Briefly, this model stated that there is a professional well-paid 'core'; a part-time, flexible, 'peripheral' - "a high proportion (of which are) women and members of ethnic minorities" (Sarre 1989a p117); and a third sector: the long-term unemployed.

[15] This is evidenced in Tables 21-27 and Figures 2-5.

Unemployment.

A consideration of 'unemployment' is particularly important to this study, because a stated aim of the ESF is to increase the employment chances of the trainees through providing training directly related to the needs of the labour market.

The rates of unemployment within the EC are high in comparison with the USA, Japan and the non-EC European countries, (Table 21).[16] Although in part these figures must represent an increase due to the enlargement of the EC, it does not discount the overall upward trend. The decline in 1989 is, as other sources indicate, only short-lived: the trend into the early nineties is ever upward, (see also Table 22). The comparison of the gendered rates of unemployment for 1983 and 1990, (Table 23), is included firstly as a reminder of Windebank's critique of European statistics which merely allow comparison by Member State and provide little room for more sophisticated analysis.[17] Secondly, the inclusion of Table 23 requires the reiteration of the important point that all these figures and graphs relating to unemployment must be considered in the knowledge of the numerous changes in registering unemployment - certainly within Britain, throughout this period, (all of these government alterations having the effect of reducing the apparent number of people unemployed). The invisibility of many unemployed women in these statistics must also be taken into account. Figures 3 and 4 show the unemployment rates throughout the European Community for 1987 and 1991. Allowing for the change in the top band: from over 15% down to over 12%, the second figure, for 1991, shows the worsening effect of the recession on the unemployment rates. The concentration of unemployment into the urban and industrial centres, reflects the general concentration of population, (Figure 5).

Within Britain, there has, over the twenty-year period between 1969 and 1989, been a rise in male unemployment from 442 thousand to 1,257 thousand; and for women a rise from 76 thousand to 487

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16 See also Social Europe 3/90c.

17 See p57/8.

thousand. (OECD 1991) These rates rose throughout the 1980s to their highest in 1986: 2,217 thousand men; 1,012 thousand women, (Table 24). During 1991, throughout the EC, the UK experienced the largest rise in unemployment - the unemployment rate rising from 7.8% to 10.3%. (EC 1992c p23)

In line with the movements shown by Sarre in the three-tier segmentation model, the concentration of unemployment is reported to be "among those at the bottom of the labour market and among the poorer sections of society in general." (EC 1989a p114) This, along with the increase in managerial and supervisory occupations leads to an identifiable polarisation of the labour market. This particular Report, (EC 1989a), points to the overriding importance of both the general and local economy in determining the likelihood of someone's unemployment. The relevance of this direct relationship between the economy and possible unemployment is that, in order that training increase people's chances of employment, it *must* relate to the observable and foreseeable trends within the labour market - both generally and locally.

With the firm establishment of the third tier in the segmentation model: unemployment, there are refining gradations within it: the unemployed (up to one year); the long term unemployed (LTU - one year to two); and finally the very-long-term-unemployed (VLTU - minimum of two years). The 1988a EC Report, *The Very-Long-Term-Unemployed,* details the growth of this sub-section and points to the lack of data or analysis of the subject. It shows that, within Britain, there was an increase of 269% over the six-year period from 1981 to 87, (Table 25). Over the same period, as a percentage of the total unemployment the VLTU rose from 8% to 28%. (see also EC 1992c) These figures, like the extract from the IOD above, provide a general understanding of the labour market to which the women being trained were to join. In addition to this general difficulty of unemployed women finding paid work, there is the recent finding that it is not the unemployed who get any new jobs created but, in

general, new jobs are taken by people just entering the labour market. (Social Europe 3/90c)

A further factor involved in unemployed people's possible employability is the observation of the linkage between unemployment and 'low educational attainment'. The Council of Europe (1992) made this observation based on studies carried out in six countries. Their Report, *The unemployment trap*, found that 'low educational attainment' has increasingly become a major factor in long term unemployment. They pointed out that the combination of a surplus of educated labour and the requirements of new technology have raised the required qualifications for all job levels.[18] This relationship of economic activity to educational attainment has been found to be

> "continuous, and consistent, between countries, (and furthermore) it is much stronger for women than for men." (EC 1992c p132) [19]

The Report, *Employment in Europe 1992,* (EC 1992c) - not at all typically - points to the differentials existing *between women*, remarking on the 'relative' ease of well-educated women to return to professional careers after a break, whereas, on the other hand, less well educated women "may find it more difficult to reconcile family responsibilities with their careers." (p133) Domestic help and childcare costs money, and less educated women generally find it more difficult to get jobs which pay enough money to make going to work economically viable.

The significance of this relationship between educational attainment and unemployment is that the unemployed women targeted for ESF vocational training have increasingly been those who have left school without any, or very few, basic level qualifications. The findings of these Reports indicate that in order to increase the employability of 'educationally low achieving' unemployed women, this basic educational attainment must itself be addressed

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[18] Similar points are also made in EC 1989a and Women of Europe 36/92.

[19] See Table 26. A similar relationship is identified in the following texts: Women of Europe 36/92 p25/table 3; Labour Force Surveys UK 1983-91; Women of Europe 16/84; Women of Europe 30/89; OECD 1991; EOC 1992.

irrespective of the particular *vocational* training provision. Furthermore, in order to give transferrable value to any such attainment, the training courses must provide evidence of both educational and vocational achievement. This need for transferrable recognition of attainment suggests national certification such as City and Guilds and National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) and General National Vocational Qualifications (GNVQs), rather than the 'in-house' course completion certificates referred to in Chapter 4.

The unemployment rates of European women are higher than those of men despite the fact that women represent a lower percentage of the workforce. (EC 1992c) In 1990 the average unemployment rate for women was 11% of the labour force compared with 6.5% for men.

> "In seven of the Member States, the rate for women was at least double that of men." (EC 1992c p134)

The activity rates of women, in 1987, across the European Community, are shown in Figure 2, and in Social Europe 3/90c.

The particular effects of unemployment on women can be seen both hierarchically and occupationally. The Department of Employment's *Labour Market Quarterly Report* (August 1990a), considering 'women returners to the labour market', point out that "women often return to lower level jobs than they left", and therefore, training is necessary to help women return to the same place as they left, let alone return to a higher position. The gendered hierarchical segregation of the labour market is considered further below. Occupationally, the effects of unemployment can be seen for instance within the 'growth industry' of the service sector. Despite the service sector being a major area of growth,

> "the majority of those becoming unemployed for economic reasons were formerly employed in services." (EC 1992c p34)

Furthermore, a "high proportion of these were employed in basic service activities" (p34) - hotels, catering, distribution, personal and domestic services - that is, those low-paid, 'low-skilled' jobs generally attributed to women. Table 27 shows, for 1990, the share of the unemployed by their previous economic activity. The

indication of this is that many of the unemployed are people being laid off from basic industries and services. This indication at least implies a possibility of these people possessing only basic skills or few, if any, qualifications. This indication relates to the above linkage of low educational attainment with unemployment, and to the increasing polarisation of the labour market discussed above.

There are currently three significant, and inter-linked, areas of impact on European unemployment. The first is the general and long-lasting recession. The second is the Single European Market, (SEM). The third is the impact of new technology.

The *House of Commons Employment Committee* (Session 1990/1) reported that the particular result of the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) - seen as a necessary prerequisite to the SEM - was a rise in unemployment. This was linked, in the submission of the Institute of Directors, (IOD), to a list of perceived deficiencies within basic skills training. The IOD stressed the need for skills and adaptability related to technology. A subsequent Report from the following sessions Employment Committee continued this theme on the skills of the workforce: the low level of skills of British workers could lead to the UK being the "cheap, unskilled labour of Europe", with France and Germany being the highly skilled. (House of Commons; 1991/2 2nd Report pxiv) This clearly points to the third inter-linking factor: that of new technology - and in particular to its impact on the processes of production, which have brought about the presently oft quoted, (by the British government), rise in manufacturing output whilst at the same time producing considerable unemployment, (equally as often quoted by the opposition). The general rise in unemployment, its particular effect on women, and on people with low educational attainments, along with the three intertwined factors above, all create the general, and local, economic situation within which the ESF funded training of working-class unemployed women takes place.

Construction Industry.

The following two sections focus on 'occupational' under-representation: firstly the construction industry, and secondly, new technology, and in particular the employment trends *within* these industries. The relevance of these industries was identified in Chapter 4 and subsequently researched through ESF and UK policy documents throughout Chapter 5. In order to address the hypotheses stated at the beginning of this Chapter it is necessary to look within these industries to identify the occupations of growth or decline.

The EC Report, (1987c), *New forms and new areas of employment growth: final report for the United Kingdom,* provides statistical information showing the general decline, from the late 1980s, of the British construction industry. This is evidenced by those leaving the industry, the lack of new employment in it, and by the numbers of construction workers who opt instead for self-employment. Around 12% of those unemployed had previously been employed in the building or civil engineering section, (Table 27, taken from EC 1992c). The construction industry has been the major area of self-employment within Britain, (Table 28). Using the broad categorization of 'construction craft occupations', Table 29 shows very little change in the numbers employed over the 1971-1990 period: 3.4% to 3.6% of the workforce, (817 to 847 thousand employees). However, the breadth of this category obscures some of the more fundamental employment changes which have been taking place. For, on the other hand, classification by finer occupational categories shows a decrease of -13.86% for 'building and construction workers'; a decrease of -37.01% for 'woodworkers'; and -24.30% for 'plumbers', (Table 30). Further evidence of this decline is shown in Table 31: from 651 thousand people employed in 'construction/repair or demolition of buildings' in 1971, the numbers drop to 621 thousand in 1981, and then, more drastically, to 510 thousand in 1985. This trend is also borne out by the 1984 *UN Construction Statistics Yearbook*, which shows 1,334 thousand employees in 1977 dropping to 1,191 thousand in 1983. (UN p211)

Furthermore, the future employment prospects within the industry remain pessimistic. The 1990 Annual Report of the major British construction company 'Wimpey PLC' refers repeatedly to the 'depressed market' and the effect of the recession upon it. The Chairman's Report comments on both the bleakness of the future and the present need for redundancies.[20]

New technology.

The second focus of 'occupational' under-representation is on new technology. The previous Chapter showed how, throughout the 1980s, there were numerous Reports forewarning the impact of new technology on most areas of production and on the vast majority of occupations. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 5, many of these Reports also warned that women represented a particularly vulnerable section of the workforce.

There is however, a difficulty in presenting quantitative data such as that detailed above for the construction industry. The reasons are two-fold. Firstly, there is a delay in the occupational classification - such data only becoming available (on a limited scale) in the 1992 New Earnings Survey, (Table 32). Secondly, other than the 'production' of new technology - hardware and software, the main impact of new technology lie in its infiltration into the processes of production of other industries and their administrative and managerial occupations, and therefore, its growth is not visible in these occupational tables. This section therefore, relies on EC and UK Reports on new technology, as well as on the statistical data detailed in Tables 32 and 33.

As shown in Chapters 2 and 5, the impact of new technology is well predicted and reported. This quote from the EC 1989(a) Report *Employment in Europe*, is typical of many:

> "Technological change is a phenomenon of crucial importance, which has now taken on an international

[20] Macgregor 1990 also provides a pessimistic account of both the present and the predicted future for the construction industry. Further evidence of the general decline in employment within the industry is provided in the following texts: Central Statistics 1990; EC 1987c; OECD 1991.

> dimension. Its social impact, as regards both employment and skills, is considerable." (EC 1989a p133)

Marquand (1990) refers to the current rapid technological changes as being the latest 'Kondratiev wave' - a long cycle of economic activity developing from a technological change and creating a disjuncture between the technology and the social and political organisation of the society. This change is seen to be happening throughout the European Community. (EC 1988c) This then, is the present underlying climate of great change in the economic structure of the western world. That is, a huge change, not only in the processes of production, but also in the movement and transactions relating to capital: from one's personal use of automatic cash-points and point-of-sale debit cards, to the electronic superfast shifting of vast amounts of capital from one end of the world to the other. It is the scope of this change and its ramifications for the future which has made the European Community so aware of technological competition from Japan and the USA, and which by the same token, make the current extent of its occupational gendering so very important.

Of particular relevance to this thesis is a consideration of the numbers of people employed in the new technological industries - that is, those of the *production* of hardware and software. Over the period 1981 to 1987, employment in software rose steeply; that of information technology, steadily, (Table 33). Telecommunications although shown to be decreasing over this period, is, in the early 1990s, through its linkage with information technology, now one of the main areas of projected growth. This vital point bears reiteration: the prime importance of 'information technology' lies in its impact on almost all other industries, occupations and even on domestic and leisure activities.

> "There are virtually no sectors or occupations which information technology has not already affected - or will not affect in the future. Forecasts indicate that by the year 2000, two out of three jobs will be affected by information and communications technology. Its impact on economies and societies has also been more researched than any of the other new technologies. ... Its areas of applications extend to the office, the

> factory and, more and more, to the home." (EC 1989a p134; see also EC 1987c)

This same Report points also to the predicted growth of 'telecommunications' saying the "sector has enormous potential for further growth." (EC 1989a p67; and again repeated in EC 1987c)

This widespread application of new technology relates directly to an underlying theme of this Chapter. This is the linkage between low educational attainment and that of unemployment, the subsequent need for skills relevant to the labour market and the relationship of these skills to the processes of segmentation and polarisation. New technology has changed the skills required of workers. These have changed from the "strength or dexterity" of 'low-skilled' physical labour, to an emphasis on "mental rather than physical abilities." (EC 1987c p39) Consequently, the demand upon workers to have formal qualifications has increased. It could be argued that the increase in the demand for 'qualifications', typified by the surge in accreditation of courses, accredited prior learning (APL), NVQs and GNVQs, effectively masks the decline of 'skill' itself. The effect of this is to compound the difficulties of employment for people with low educational skills: the chances of employment grow less for those without basic technological skills - except perhaps for those in the very lowest paid, totally non-technological, occupations such as general cleaning or street sweeping.

As well as affecting skills, the impact of new technology on many occupational areas is causing considerable re-shifting. Increasingly, there is a 'laying-off' of lower skilled workers, including, as shown in Chapter 2, those already trained in 'end-user' technology. This is an important development, for many of these workers are women - for instance, keyboard operators, electronic till operators. It is becoming much more common for 'higher level' workers such as managers and professionals to 'keyboard' their own personal computer, and to communicate directly with other 'higher level' workers, through electronic mail and other telecommunication systems such as fax machines. (see for instance

EC 1987c; EC 1984b; and below) The trend is towards the need for higher level skills and away from lower-level skills - this trend even encroaching into the 'middle-level' as well. (EC 1987c)

This process of polarisation, through technology skills, is creating at one end a high-technologically skilled elite workforce, and at the other end, a far larger technologically illiterate group. Kanawaty (1985) argues that the latter:

> "... are likely to become watchers instead of doers, monitoring information and keyboards rather than having to perform an operation or understand thoroughly how it is carried out or even how the monitoring equipment works." (p407)

He adds that the 'software' skills of the technological elite will be in heavy demand, but the technologically illiterate will

> "monitor equipment rather than carry out a particular operational activity." (p408)

This trend can be seen to relate directly to the three-tier segmentation model. Those with only 'low-level' skills join the unemployed; the mid-level increasingly represent the peripheral workers with little security or opportunity for promotion; this leaves only those with high-level skills able to enjoy the privileges and relative continuity attributed to the core workers.

This polarisation is increasingly evident within many occupations. For instance, in a 'typically female area of work',

> "secretarial jobs are requiring ever-higher levels of skills and responsibilities, ... (whilst) other clerical work is becoming mechanised, and deskilled, if not eliminated altogether." (EC 1987c p58; see also Kanawaty 1985)

The NEDO 1983 Report on the impact of new technologies also pointed towards this raising of skill levels, as well as indicating the likely blurring of boundaries between jobs, such as those indicated in the preceding paragraph. Marquand (1990) believes that the current technological changes will mean that, in the future, there will be few jobs for the technologically unskilled unless they are designed deliberately.

> "The types of skills and qualifications in demand are those with increasing requirements involving mental flexibility, responsibility and planning skills and basic understanding of new technologies." (EC 1989a p135; see also EC 1987c)

These are clearly not the skills involved in the training of manual skills relating to the construction industry.

Both the data below on hierarchical segregation, and the analysis of the gendering of new technology, show that the effect of the impact of new technology is benefiting men. At the bottom are the routine workers - within offices of all types these have been predominantly women, and these are the workers being displaced by the newer 'new' technology. (EC 1987c) Furthermore, even amongst those with 'higher' technological skills, the gendering imbalance - as indicated by rates of pay, is clearly evident, (Table 32).

The implication here, from this focus on the construction industry and new technology, is that the vocational training aimed at unemployed working-class women is concentrated on an industry currently in decline, and within that industry, employees in specific occupations are also decreasing. At the same time the production industry of new technology, particularly information technology and telecommunications, is predicted to grow. Furthermore, the impact of new technology on numerous other industries and occupations is immense. It will bear repetition to state that new technology is causing a technological polarisation of the workforce - where even those with relevant skills, if low level, are at risk. Technological illiteracy reinforces the already established relationship between low educational attainment and unemployment. In the mid eighties, the ESF emphasis on new technology training for unemployed women was generally translated into appended training or low-level end user, poorly certified training. Chapter 5 showed how even this emphasis has now been dropped. The meaning of this is that these working-class women are having the occupational key to the future effectively denied them.

Women in the labour market.

This section begins by looking at the general position of women within the EC and UK labour markets. It will consider the employment activity rates of women compared with their population of 'working age', and identify any significant trends within this. Secondly, there is a gendered analysis of the classification of employment by industry, which relates back to the general trends of industry discussed at the beginning of this Chapter. The third part of this general placing of women in the labour market focuses on 'atypical' working conditions. Both this general section and the following more specific analysis builds on previous feminist studies of the labour market using theories and concepts discussed in Chapter 2.

The latter half of this section of the Chapter becomes more specific in its focus: firstly, the position of women in those occupations and industries considered above: the construction industry and the industry and occupations relating to new technology. The second part concentrates, mainly through UK data, on the extent of 'hierarchical' segregation - mainly in those occupations and industries relevant to this study. Both the occupational and hierarchical data are used in the following analysis of the concept of occupational gendering - particularly of new technology.

a) General location of women in the labour market:

Firstly, looking at the employment activity rates of women, the situation at the beginning of the 1990s is that the 'working age' population of the European Community is divided 51% women, 49% men. But, of those actually in employment 39% are women, and 61% men. (EC 1992c) The gendered percentage of labour force participation for 1970, 1980 and 1986, shows, for each Member State, an increase in the percentage of women employed, whereas, with the exception of Denmark and Greece, they each show a decrease in the number of men employed, (Table 34). The European labour force participation rates of women from 1981 to 1989 confirms a higher increase in women's participation over that of men's - which decreases in five Member

States, (Table 35). The UK shows an increase of 2.04% over this period to a rate of 66.8% in 1989. This is the second highest rate after Denmark.[21] Between 1985 and 1990, 60% of additional jobs throughout the EC were taken by women, (EC 1992c), but, as Chapter 2 showed, these were jobs almost totally in line with the established sex segregation of the labour market.

Figures for 1988 show that in the UK, out of 16.1 million women of working age, 11.2 million (that is almost 70%) were economically active. 'Economically active' does not mean 'employed', for almost 1 million of these economically active women were not employees. (Labour Market Quarterly Report, 8/90a, 8/89b)

One of the few sub-categories of women provided by EC data relates to age. Gendered activity rates are given firstly for the age group 15 to 24, and secondly for those aged 25 to 49, for the years 1986 and 1990, (Tables 36 and 37). Although these figures represent only a snapshot of the employment of women at a particular time - the age related peaks and troughs are not necessarily predictive of future activity rates, their relevance for this study lie in their focus on the older age range, for this correlates to that of the unemployed women targeted for ESF Objective 3 funding.[22] The activity rates of women aged 25-49 decrease in comparison with those of the younger women. The Report (EC 1992c) attributes this decrease in activity to the increased number of married women in this older age group. Concentrating on married women they found no significance based on 'motherhood' and they conclude that the extent of activity relates primarily to marital status - not motherhood. However, the Report did point to an apparent north-south differential, (Figure 6). The age-grouped activity rates for women in the UK during 1983 and 1990 show an increase in activity rates between these two dates, (Table 38). It also shows a 'smoothing-out' of the 1983 sharper peaks and troughs, particularly in the 20 to 25 age group and the 40 to 45

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[21] The distribution of women's employment relative to men across the European Community is shown in Figure 5. See also *The Economist* 30 June 1990; EOC 1990, 1992; EC 1983; Pillinger 1992.

[22] Women of Europe 20/85 provides details of the activity rates of women in 1985.

group. On the other hand the 1990 line shows a continuous steep decline from age 45-49. This indicates a movement towards less fluctuation in activity between the ages of 20 and 45. However, the descent to the negligible activity rates of retirement age begins now at age 45-9 rather than, as previously, 50-4.

Secondly, a gendered analysis of the classification of employment by industry reflects the general trend of expansion of the services industry and decline of manufacturing and agriculture throughout the EC and the UK, which was detailed at the beginning of this Chapter. The number of women employed in the services sector, within the EC, from 1965 to 1991, has doubled whilst those employed in agriculture has halved, and those in manufacturing industry decreased by two million, (Table 39). Looking at the sectoral distribution across the EC for 1987, it can be seen that 73% of all employed women are employed in the services sector, (Table 40). *Employment in Europe* (EC 1992c) reported that only 19% of women workers were employed in industry, and that furthermore:

> "a significant proportion of these occupy non-manual rather than manual jobs." (EC 1992c p149)

The UK situation shows a very similar picture to that given above for the EC. Between the years 1950 and 1985 there is a definite decline in the employment of women in manufacturing and a rise in the services sector. The *UK Labour Force Surveys* (1983 to 1991) classify women by industry, both in number and as a percentage of all women employees, (Table 42 and accompanying analysis). These *Surveys* show that within the UK, over this period, the distribution of women throughout the industries stays fairly constant. The percentage of women employed in the construction industry remains constant at 2% from 1984 to 1991.

Focusing down on the divisions within industry, the *Labour Force Survey 1991* shows that within the UK, over the period 1984 to 1991, the proportion of men and women employees in each division has shown very little change, (Table 43 and accompanying analysis). The

'construction' industry consistently has the lowest proportion of women employees: 10% in 1991.

The focus in this third part of the general section is on 'atypical' working conditions.[23] Throughout the EC women are still more likely to be found in 'atypical' employment.[24] In 1986, the Member State with the smallest disparity between women and men in 'atypical' employment was Italy, (men 2.8%, women 9.5%), and the Member State with the largest disparity was the UK (men 4.6%, women 45%), (Table 45). Similarly, across the EC, the percentage of married women who are employed part-time is higher than that of women in general. This is particularly marked in Germany (43.9% of married women), and in the UK (54.1%), (Table 45). The Report from which this Table is taken, *Women in Europe* (36/92), concludes that this 'atypical' employment, linked with low-pay and low-status, is the result of the gendered horizontal and vertical segmentation of the labour market.[25]

b) Women employed in specific relevant occupations:

The two industries to be considered here are firstly the construction industry, and secondly, that relating to new technology. Within these industries the focus will be on the employment of women relative to men, and relative to women employees in general. The concentration will be mainly on the British labour market. The extent to which women, within these industries, are

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[23] The background to the concept of 'atypical' working can be found in chapter 2, p57.

[24] Details regarding 'atypical' employment can be found in the following texts: Women of Europe 5/81; Women of Europe 36/92; EC 1989a; EC 1992c; EC 1987c; *The Economist* 1990; EC 1984d; EC 1987a; EC 1987b; EC 1983; OECD 1991; Pillinger 1992; Hakim 1990. The extent of gendered disparity across the EC, for the years 1985 and 1990, regarding part-time employment as a percentage of total employment is shown in Table 44.

[25] The concept of the gendered horizontal and vertical segmentation of the labour market was considered in depth in Chapter 2, p52/58. The key texts included: Mazey 1987; Cockburn 1988; EC 1988c; Walby 1988; Elson & Pearson 1989; Goldstein 1989; Wolpe 1978; Barrett 1980; Gaskell 1987; Armstrong and Armstrong 1988; Greenhalgh & Steward 1985.

identified with particular occupational areas will also be considered.

An overview of the percentage of women, by occupation in the UK, from 1984 to 1990, provides the broad base from which the more specific occupational analysis comes. The percentage of employees who are women are affected not only by the number of women within an industry but also by the number of men. Therefore a percentage rise for women within an occupation need not necessarily mean more women are employed in it, but that fewer men are.

The percentage of women in the category for 'construction and mining not elsewhere specified' stays between 0 and 1%. This broad classification reflects the male domination of the labour market, (Table 46). Omitting the 'mining industry' and narrowing down to the 'construction industry', women represented 8% of all people working within the 'construction industry' within the UK in 1984. This rose to 9% in 1985, and from 1990, 10%.[26] Women in the construction industry, both as a percentage of all women employed (2%), and in actual numbers, have remained fairly constant over the period from 1983 to 1991, (Table 47). The percentage rise from 2.4% in 1950 to 9.1% in 1985 is due more to the decrease in the number of men employed, rather than an increase in women, (Table 41). This is borne out by the numbers of women employed for 1984 and 1991 which shows the increase in actual numbers rising from 141 thousand to only 171 thousand, (Table 42). The analysis of the employment of women within the construction industry provides a very strong indication that this is not an industry of expansion or opportunity for women.

The New Earnings Survey (DE 1992b) provides gendered data of average weekly pay and average hourly pay by occupation and industry within the UK. This data provides the means of analysis of women's hierarchical position within the construction industry.[27]

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[26] These figures are supported by the OECD 1991.
[27] The usefulness of rates of pay as an indicator of hierarchical status was detailed in Chapter 2, p55/57.

Significantly, there is no category relating to the 'construction industry' in the Survey's table of manual work for women. On the other hand, there is a classification for women 'non-manual' workers in the construction industry. The Survey shows that, for the construction industry as a whole, the male hourly rate is £9.61 compared with that of £5.44 for women, (weekly average £390 to £207). All the subsections for the non-manual occupations within the construction industry reflect this ratio: male hourly rates within £9 compared with women's of under £5, (Table 48).

The implication from these figures is two-fold. It indicates that women are employed to do different work than men - that is, it supports the earlier finding that of women working in industry, greater numbers of them are employed in non-manual occupations rather than manual ones. Furthermore, the complete absence of data relating to women manual construction workers indicates the extreme male domination of the industry. This is an example of occupational gendering occurring *within* the industry: men are manual workers, women are restricted to non-manual work. Within this concept of occupational gendering, the analysis of the rates of pay show that within the industry's non-manual occupations, the average man is paid significantly more than the average women, thereby indicating that women occupy the lower-paid lower-status jobs and men the better paid, higher-status managerial and professional jobs.

This focus on the construction industry has shown a general decline in jobs available; that there has been no significant increase in the numbers of women employed; that those women who are employed in the industry are located in the non-manual occupations and not the manual ones; and that finally, within those non-manual occupations women occupy the low-paid, low-status jobs at the bottom of the hierarchy. It is also significant that the manual occupations of the construction industry are physically strenuous, not simply in the skill required but also in relation to the environment and weather conditions, which result in the early retirement of many male workers. These are the significant features regarding the

construction industry and the position of women within it. This is the industry to which much of the ESF funded vocational training for unemployed women in the UK has been geared. This would be an extremely difficult industry for women to gain access to even if they matched men in terms of their youth, their qualifications, comparable site experience, and with similar domestic support enabling them to work the irregular, and seasonal, hours of the building site. None of these requirements are applicable to the women trainees targeted under Objective 3 of the ESF.[28]

As mentioned above, there is scant data available for the industries of new technology and for those occupations in other industries which have been affected by it. The following analysis is based on the *New Earnings Survey* (DE 1992b). From within this *Survey*, *tables 8 and 9* provide a gendered breakdown of average hourly and weekly pay classified by occupation. From these lengthy tables only those occupations directly relating to new technology are selected for the following gendered analysis, (Table 32). There are two main points to be made as a result of this analysis.

Firstly, the highest hourly rates of pay are for the following occupations: electrical engineers, electronic engineers and software engineers. These classifications occur in the occupational table for men, but not for women. The meaning of this is that there are no, or too few to register, women employed in these occupations. This is also true for the category of 'electrical and electronic technicians' where the average hourly rate of pay for men is £8.26. Secondly, for those remaining three categories which relate to women as well as men, in all cases men's earnings are higher than women's. The least difference is seen in the hourly pay of 'computer analysts and programmers': men £10.85, women £10.32 - weekly average: men

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[28] For instance, in relation to qualifications, an EC Report of 1980 found that where women are trained in traditional male manual skills the qualification gained is often merely a course-completion certificate. (EC 1980b) Although the training project of the case study led to City and Guilds qualifications, the number of women reaching this level were extremely few, and their site experience extremely limited. The extract from EC 1987d quoted on p213 is also relevant to this point.

£413, women £384. However within this - the occupation with the most closely related occupational pay - 10% of men earn over £595 compared with the top 10% of women earning over £523. The lower paid end of this occupation shows the least differential of the entire table: 10% of men earn less than £246 and 10% of women earn less than £251, (Table 32).

This analysis shows that the better paid occupations of new technology are being dominated by men, to the complete statistical exclusion of women. Furthermore, within 'shared' occupations, a pay differential indicates the existence of a gendered hierarchy. The only possible exception indicated is that of 'computer analysts'. A significant point, which bears repetition, is that, as mentioned above and further evidenced below, new technology is not confined either to the new technology industries nor simply to those specifically identifiable occupations listed above. The process of both the occupational and the hierarchical gendering of new technology is one of great importance, both in general and in relation to the ESF, Objective 3, vocational training policies.

c) Hierarchical segregation:

The first concern of this section is to identify any hierarchical movements of women within the labour market. The second concern will focus on an understanding of the hierarchical position of women through the analysis of gendered pay differentials.[29] To ease the readability of this section much of the detailed analysis of this exclusively quantitative data is appended with the relevant extracted or compiled tables from the above reports, (Tables 46 to 60).

Considering the hierarchical movements of women within the British labour market, the largest increase over the period 1984 to 1990 is within the 'professional and related managerial' occupation, (from 22% to 29%). This increase in the proportion of women in the upper

[29] The sources for the data of this section are as follows: DE *Labour Force Surveys*, 1983-1991; *Employment in Europe 1992* (EC 1992c); *New Earnings Survey* (DE 1992b); Reports from the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC 1991, 1992) and the EC (EC 1989b).

classifications is also evidenced by 'managerial' occupations (24% to 28%), (Table 46). The linkage of educational attainment and professional qualification with class has already been argued. Therefore the increase of women in these particular occupations reflects the class, (and possibly - probably - race) differentials existing between women, and it is these educated, presumably more middle-class women who are securing the core sector jobs. This relatively small increase in the proportion of (white/middle-class/educated) women is the basis for the particular, but very dominant, equal opportunities discourse which has centred on access, promotion, and the concept of 'the glass ceiling'. However, despite this upward move of some exceptional women, the occupational groups with a consistently high percentage of women remain the traditionally low-paid and low status ones.

The drop in the number of partly skilled women, over the period 1986 to 1991, supports the theory relating to the changing needs of the labour force in which the new technological changes in production are having considerable impact. The section relating most closely to the areas of training concentrated on in this study is that of skilled manual work, and this fell by 1%, (Table 49).

The foundations of this class-related segregation are of course laid well before women enter the labour market - their choice influenced by courses and subjects taken at school, and these choices themselves not only affected by gender but strongly influenced by class and race.[30] This analysis is not confined to feminists: gendered orientation is:

> "... towards training and study courses which lead to traditional women's work and away from the path leading to the more highly skilled, managerial or better paying 'men's' jobs." (ILO vol. 21 no 2 1985b p6)

This ILO conclusion, is substantiated class for class, and race for race, throughout this Chapter and in particular by Table 50 which, by racial group, shows women in each case being more highly represented in the lower levels of both non-manual and manual work.

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[30] This was discussed and key texts provided on p75 and p83/85. See also Note 6.

Men of all the racial groups shown are more likely to be in positions of superiority than women of those same groups.

The following analysis of gendered pay differentials provides an indication of the hierarchical position of women within the labour market. Despite the above mentioned indication of a slight increase in the numbers of women employed in professional or managerial occupations, any further gendered change in the hierarchy of the labour market has not been noticeable.

> "The evidence available suggests that the concentration of women's employment in particular subsections seems to have increased rather than diminished over the 1980s." (EC 1992c p139)

Within the manufacturing sector of the European Community, between 1973 and 1988, the differential in women's earnings relative to men's has actually *increased*, (Table 32).

Tables 52 to 55, taken from the EC's *Employment in Europe 1992* (EC 1992c) are appended. They show the earnings of women relative to men. They show a definite and consistent gendered pay differential which is indicative of the occupational hierarchy which exists, into the 1990s, between men and women. This differential is attributed to

> "the difficulties which women face in acceding to higher positions in the occupational hierarchy, either at the time of hiring or in the course of their careers." (EC 1992c p153)[31]

The only area in which, relative to the numbers employed in the industry, women are 'positively' represented in its management, is that classified as 'medical and other health services'. The area showing the greatest absence is that of 'electrical and electronic engineering', (Table 56). The gendered differential for manual workers is also identifiable within each Member State, (Table 57).[32]

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[31] A similar finding is reported in the DE Labour Market Quarterly, 8/90a.

[32] In 1987 women manual workers in the UK earned 69.51% of the average male manual workers' wage.

Hierarchical segregation is observable throughout all industries and occupations and across the entire European Community. The significance of this finding for this study is its direct relevance to the ESF policy changes which have increasingly neglected training relating to hierarchical under-representation.

Gendered pay differentials within the European Community continue to be clearly identifiable within the British labour market. The extent of this hierarchical segregation is evidenced by the DE's *New Earning Survey* (1992). The five lowest low-paid manual occupations are very similar for both women and men, (Table 58). However, even within these very low paid occupations there is a distinct gendered difference in pay.[33] A detailed analysis of Table 58 is appended to it. Similarly, the classification of occupations into major group general headings continue to show the same clear gendered pay differential, (Table 59, plus appended analysis). The gendered pay differential is also clearly evident in the highest paid managerial and professional occupations, (Table 61, plus appended analysis). This means that for those exceptional white/middle-class/educated women considered above who are managing to climb the hierarchical ladder, even when they get there, they are still, on average, paid less than their male colleagues.

The gendered pay differential persists throughout all these Tables - not only in those occupations situated at either end of the pay scale. This gendered hierarchical segregation, as indicated by pay differentials, is evident from the lowest paid manual workers to the highest paid non-manual, professional workers. The analysis of these Tables has shown overwhelmingly that whether the focus is on industry or occupation, manual or non-manual, European or British, there is not one category where the average hourly rate of women even equals that of men, let alone exceeds it. These figures indicate the hierarchical segregation of women across the entire

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[33] Also of interest in *tables 4 and 5* of the *New Earnings Survey* are the discrepancies between those occupations listed in the table for men, but omitted from that for women, and vice versa. This is particularly pertinent to the feminist critique focusing on the silences and absences of women. See Chapter 3 for this discussion.

range of occupations and industries. Individual exceptions remain simply that: there are never enough women paid more than men in any one category to place their average earnings above men. The relationship of pay to status implies firstly, that in all industries and sectors of employment men hold superior positions to women, and secondly, that even within those occupations apparently shared by men and women, men again hold the more senior positions.

This section has shown the extent of such gendered segregation. From its initial focus on the general position of women within the EC and UK labour market, to the specific concern with the relevant occupations of the construction and new technology industries, through to the final consideration of the hierarchical segregation of women across all occupational groups and industries, the statistical evidence shows the result, the implications for women, of these structures and mechanisms.

The implications are that class for class, and even occupation for occupation, both in manual and non-manual work, it is highly unlikely that women are able to earn the same money as men. This means that as a direct consequence of their earning power women also have less disposable income. This affects women's quality of life and make it, relative to class, race and job status, more difficult for women to be economically independent, and consequently, more likely to place themselves in an economic,(as well as sexual and/or emotional), relationship with a man. This is one of those crucial points where the needs of capitalism are also seen to meet the needs of patriarchy - and vice versa.

The EOC (1992) point to two kinds of inequality affecting these pay differentials. The first occurs where the same work is done by people with the same qualifications, but where for instance, men earn more than women, for instance 'medical practitioners' and 'solicitors', (Table 60). The second is the result of the

> "... potential restriction of women to certain qualifications, occupational levels or economic sub-sections". (EOC 1992 p167)

This second kind of 'inequality' is typified by 'treasurers and company financial managers', (Table 60); by specific manual categories within the construction industry, (Table 48); and by 'electrical, electronic and software engineers and technicians', (Table 32). The EOC (1992) conclude that:

> "Pay differentials between men and women are due essentially to occupational segregation and mechanisms - *chiefly institutional* - in the labour market tending to push women into relatively low-paid jobs." (EOC 1992 p168; emphasis is mine)

These 'chiefly institutional' mechanisms appear to correlate exactly with Walby's identification of 'patriarchal structures' and processes. These 'chiefly institutional' mechanisms are the processes, mechanisms and structures which perpetuate and maintain the gendered segregation of the labour market. However, the significant difference between the EOC's identification of 'chiefly institutional mechanisms' and Walby's 'patriarchal structures and processes' is central to the argument of this thesis.

The EOC, is by its very existence, located firmly within the discourse of equal opportunities, and as such, works from a basic liberal-democratic belief that these institutional mechanisms can be changed - although it is acknowledged that such change generally requires the force of law. This understanding is exemplified by their use of 'institutional'. These mechanisms are governed by the institutions and as such they can be changed. Such an understanding does not include any complex concept of power-relations or even of perpetual gendered self-interest, and this is the point on which the argument turns. Walby's concept of 'patriarchal structures and processes' automatically includes a gendered analysis. Importantly, it also acknowledges a concept of power-relations and the perpetuation of gendered self-interest. From these basic concepts comes the understanding, so different from that of the equal opportunities discourse, that it is highly unlikely that changes in the law, or even the implementation of 'equal opportunities' processes, will bring about any real or lasting decrease in that gendered power-relationship. A theorist from within this

perspective would not therefore be surprised by the EC's finding that the gendered segregation identified throughout this section, persists across the Community, despite all the EC equality legislation and the linked social initiatives.

> "Progress in achieving equality has been slow and women still remain largely confined to traditional occupations with relatively low level jobs. This segregation persists despite the recent extensive changes in the structure of the labour market and the sustained increase in the labour force participation of women." (EC 1989a p85)[34]

d) The occupational gendering of new technology:

The concept of gendering is taken to refer to those processes, structures and mechanisms, by which the gendered segmentation of the labour market is developed and maintained to the general benefit of men and the equal detriment of women. As the class analysis detailed in Chapter 2 is based on an understanding of the relations of power and struggle, so this concept of gendering is likewise considered intentional and political.[35] The gendering of 'skill' was identified as a vital part of the process of occupational gendering. And of direct relevance to this study, was the concept of *re*-gendering which, as a continual process, relates directly to changes within the processes of production and by so doing, maintains, class for class and race for race, the gendered power differential. This study's focus on training in manual skills and new technology is located within this process of occupational regendering.

The industries commonly referred to as 'new technology' represent the major growth area of the capitalist economy. Yet, despite this, there has been an international decline in the number of women professionally or technically involved in these industries.[36]

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[34] Similar findings are reported in: EC 1987a; EOC 1992; Rubery 1988; EC 1983.

[35] The analysis of these structures and processes is based primarily on Walby 1986, 1988; and Cockburn 1990, and can be found on p61/67.

[36] This discussion is located in the following texts: Mahony & Van Toen 1990; see also Cockburn 1985, 1992; Game and Pringle 1984; Wajcman 1991.

Similarly, in the UK, there has been, over the last six years, a 50% decrease, and this has happened despite all the various government policies and legislation and other public-body initiatives concerned with 'equal opportunities'. The beneficiaries of new technology are men: the losers, women. Where women are engaged in work with new technology they are often restricted to spending most of their working day:

> "in front of VDUs working with office packages such as wordprocessors, databases and spreadsheets which *keeps them away from the power* of the how and why and whether *of the technology*." (Mahoney & Van Toen 1990 p322; emphasis is mine)

As detailed in the previous Chapter, what little new-technology training working-class girls and women have received has concentrated on just such 'end-user' skills: office-based VDUs, or retail-based electronic tills. Women are being excluded from the development and research of new technology's 'hardware' and 'software'. A similar exclusion operates regarding electronic engineering except where those female 'virtues' of 'dexterity' and 'patience' are ideal for the assembly line - and such 'virtues' are claimed more of oriental women than of western. This exclusion has happened despite the apparent 'feminine suitability' of electronic engineering.[37]

The 1984(b) EC Report *Office automation and work for women*, shows the relatively early stages of the process of gendering taking place. Firstly, it shows a gendered difference in the hardware allocation: wordprocessors are being allocated solely to women, micro-computers with word-processing software to women clerks, micro-computers with additional software applications to men, (mostly, at that time, to male executives). The Report points to two particular processes within this gendering. Firstly, word processors are made 'commonplace', divorced from its computer-type aspects, and secondly, the keyboard part of micro-computers with its feminine connotations and history, was seen, in 1984, to be increasingly replaced by the 'mouse'. The effect of these processes

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[37] This discussion is located in the following texts: EC 1985c; Cockburn 1987; EC 1985a; EC 1984b; EC 1987b; EC 1988b.

is the maintenance of the "skills hierarchy and the separation of masculine and feminine spheres." (p103) And finally there is the absence of women in certain occupations of new technology and the extent of the pay differential in others, (Table 32).

Numerous Reports from within the European Community have been seen to point towards the projected and actual growth of industries and occupations related to new technology, stressing the need for relevant training. The following is one of the more explicit:

> "The structural sexual segregation outlined above has implications for the vocational training orientation and education for women. These are the means that will enable women to enter occupations outside their traditional areas. Given this segregation, however, *it has often proved easier for women to improve their opportunities by progressing to non-traditional occupations within already female-dominated sectors, rather than attempt to move to sectors where they are under-represented.*" (EC 1989a p92)

The latter section of this quotation has been emphasised for it encapsulates a main concern of this thesis. Non-traditional occupations within traditional female sectors include, for instance, pattern-makers in the textile industry; bakers in the catering industry; clerks and administrators rather than typists and keyboarders in office situations. If, as the Report states, it is easier for women to progress to these occupations rather than into sectors where they are traditionally under-represented, such as the construction industry, then it is, at the very least, remiss of the ESF training policy not to reflect this. However, such complete absence of direction towards these equally 'non-traditional' occupations points yet again to the inherent lack of class analysis within the EC's equal opportunities policy.

Equal opportunities and the labour market.

Given its central aspect in the development and interpretation of ESF vocational training policy, a consideration of 'equal opportunities' is necessary in the light of the labour market data above.

The evidence in the preceding section indicates that the discourse of 'equal opportunities', as applied to training and employment policies, has failed. Women are still employed predominantly in low status occupations. The effects of the policies have been that some women have been encouraged into non-traditional areas: such as those relating to the construction industry. Some women, extremely few, do gain related employment.[38] But, very often, for those who do gain related employment, a process of gendering is taking place *within* that occupational area. For example, based on the evidence of the case study, and on the findings of Cockburn (1987), women who have been trained as plumbers are more likely to go into business making lead-glass ware, or wrought-iron gates, rather than as a plumber; and women trained as carpenters more likely to go into small furniture manufacture or wooden toy manufacture, rather than as a carpenter; or of course, into training other women in these areas. Very few trained women gain subsequent employment in either construction or building maintenance.

The gender/race/class segmentation analysis introduced in Chapter 2 developed from an understanding that the divisions within the labour market result from power struggles between differing groups. A class analysis is as crucial to this study as that of gender, for it is working class women (white and black) who have been, and are increasingly so, the target of the type of ESF training schemes considered in this study. The economic need for a segmented labour force is shown throughout this Chapter. Real wealth, capital, is increasingly condensed, through the growth of multi-nationals, into fewer and fewer (generally male) hands: the professional core workers maintain, for the wealth holders, the relatively smooth operation of their capital, and in the process they themselves acquire and maintain their own privilege; the peripheral workers, evermore malleable due to the threat of unemployment, adapt to the specific needs and fluctuations of the labour market. The unemployed are clearly surplus to capital's present, and

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[38] As well as the detailed analysis of employment results developed throughout Chapter 4, the appended discussion on 'skill and femininity' (Note 5) is also relevant to this section.

foreseeable, requirements. This notion of discarding the unemployed, not merely temporarily, but extending a long way into the future, must have implications not only for the economy, and for the general community, but also of course for the unemployed people themselves.

However, given the strong economic base of this analysis of the labour market and its direct relationship to ESF vocational training policy, the question regarding the occupational and hierarchical *gendering* of the labour market, remains. That is, as shown above, why are *women, as women*, thus located in the labour market ? Capitalism, its processes and structures, might be seen to determine the general segmentation of the labour force, maintaining power differentials based on economic position. However, whilst clearly serving the needs of capitalism, the quantitative data evidenced indicates a strong patriarchal nature. These patriarchal structures and processes are so interwoven with those of capitalism that one can easily obscure the other. Nevertheless, these statistical studies of both the European and British labour markets show the economic oppression of women, relative class to class and race to race, to that of men. This relates directly to the feminist question regarding the prime oppression of women which was introduced in Chapter 2. The findings of this study point towards support of those 'binary' theories being constructed by, for instance, Game and Pringle (1984), Walby and Cockburn. The extent of the interwoven needs of patriarchy and capitalism evidenced in this study, make it impossible to conclude at this point that one pre-dates the other or that one exists simply to serve the needs of the other.[39]

Conclusion.

This Chapter has shown an apparent fundamental mismatch between EC policy intentions and the relevance of the ensuing vocational training to the needs of the labour market. Through the EC's emphasis on occupational under-representation, and the UK's linkage

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39 The feminist theoretical background to this question of the prime oppression of women, can be found in Chapter 3, p93/95.

of this to the concept of 'traditional', British working-class women have been trained in the manual skills of a *declining* construction and property maintenance industry. Throughout the same period, despite a short lived mid-eighties emphasis, training in new technology has been neglected. This situation continues despite the numerous Reports and the quantitative evidence to show the extent of the impact of new technology on the labour market, and the projections of its increased impact in the foreseeable future, of which the following extract is typical.

> "The current situation across Member States sees vocational education and training as an accepted part of policy responses to changes which are clearly identified as structural. Here too, measures have been short-term, characterised by the proliferation of training schemes aimed particularly at the long-term unemployed and young people. Such schemes were generally based on limited analyses of labour market need, and the provisional and fragmented nature of resulting training provision has made effective Community-level analysis and evaluation extremely difficult. ....
> (The main factors influencing training needs are:) technological progress which has created new potential for automation; changes in the functions and skills required of workers, as a result of these technological advances; new industrial strategies in response to a developing market and the resulting new demands placed on the workforce." (EC 1989a p103)

Furthermore, this chapter has shown that the discourse of equal opportunities has had negligible impact on either the continued segregation of women into mainly traditional occupations, or on the continued low-status work of the majority of women within the occupational hierarchy. These observations indicate processes which are clearly to the detriment of women, (especially white and black working class women), and to the benefit of men, (especially white and middle-class men).

The question posed at the beginning of this chapter was:

> How do these policy intentions and interpretations actually relate to the needs and trends of the labour market ?

The findings from the analysis of this chapter lead to the response:

> not very well - at times seemingly in contradiction to the identifiable needs and trends.

The tentative hypothesis generated by Chapter 4, was:

> The funders' explicitly stated aim that the intention of the training was to increase employment, was of secondary importance to their primary, and less explicit, aim of constructing a *visible* equal opportunities policy.

The analysis of Chapter 5 primarily addressed the latter half of this hypothesis: this Chapter has concentrated on the relationship of the training to the needs of the labour market. The finding of the labour market data is that the non-traditional manual skills focused on in this study do *not* relate to the needs of the labour market. Therefore the funders' stated intention regarding training relating to employment is questionable, and thus lends support to the hypothesis that the primary aim has been to construct a visible equal opportunities policy.[40]

The additional hypothesis generated by the study of ESF and UK policy documents was:

> The funders' exclusive gender-based interpretation of their equal opportunities policies tend to promote training directed more towards access to 'male' occupations, and less towards the needs of, and therefore employability within, the labour market.

The analysis of the labour market data finds that the ESF's training policy, interpreted though the EC and UK gender-based concept of equal opportunities, results in an overwhelming emphasis on *access* to *traditional male* skills and occupations. The findings show a considerable mismatch between the training provision and the needs of the labour market. There is negligible evidence to indicate that attention is paid, by either ESF or UK policy, to the clearly identifiable trends within the labour market.

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[40] See p181 for a fuller consideration of the generation of this hypothesis.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION.

Introduction.

It is not intended in this conclusion to repeat the findings that are outlined in the main body of the text, but rather to concentrate on a number of key issues emerging from the thesis which will be reconsidered in the light of their overall importance and their contribution to future research.

The particular focus of this thesis on the European Social Fund's vocational training policies concerning unemployed working-class women has drawn together concepts and theories from several distinct fields of work: from within the broad field of education: school, youth and adult; from sociology; from social history; from women's studies, European studies and from labour market studies. Similar disciplines are increasingly, and necessarily, involved in the growth of the area of education, training and employment (ETE) to which this thesis most properly belongs. For instance, educational attainment, vocational training provision and the subsequent place in, or out, of the labour market have been shown throughout this study to be tightly intertwined. However, the theoretical base of this study is not as eclectic as the disciplines listed above would lead one to believe. There is in fact a unity to the thesis provided by its strong theoretical base of socialist-feminism. This theoretical base has resulted in the consistent pursuit of a gender, class and race analysis within each discipline, as well as within each stage of the research process.

Such an analysis is well established within the field of compulsory state education, and in the field of study surrounding school-work transition and youth culture and unemployment. However, there is little evidence of such an approach being brought to the field of (non-higher) *adult* education and training. Given the consistently high levels of unemployment, the growth of study in ETE is likely to continue. It is therefore very important that a gender, race and class analysis be firmly established and that such an approach does not stop with Youth Training. This is particularly important in view of the British government's recent changes to the structure of post-compulsory education and vocational training. These are first, the recent disbandment of a visible national training policy and the increasing role of the TECs in determining and meeting local training needs. Second is the incorporation of FE Colleges and their present interest in all forms of funding possibilities - including that of the ESF.

However, despite this lack of class, race and gender analyses of adult education, there have nevertheless been several studies which have focused upon the position of women, (as women), within education. Such studies, from within a general 'equal opportunities' led liberal-feminist approach, have tended firstly to concentrate on the position of women within higher education. The equal opportunities approach has meant that such studies have been concerned primarily with the numbers of students and the choices of courses made in relation to those of male students.

The second area of study into women in education, again from within an equal opportunities approach, has concentrated on the position of the 'return to work' women on NOW and WOW courses within FE. These women, although unemployed and experiencing a myriad of gender based difficulties in returning to the labour market, tend in general to be mainly white, often middle-class, married, and having past educational attainment, were generally in non-manual employment prior to leaving the labour market to bring up their children. This profile of the NOW/WOW student is quite different from that of the

ESF trainee found in Note 18. Considerably more of these women, if ever employed, were more likely to engage in lower-paid, lower-status manual work. These women are less likely to be adequately, if at all, financially supported by a man, and have little, if any, past educational attainment to draw upon. In addition to the gender based difficulties of re-entering the labour market they are further disadvantaged by their class, and for black women, by their race also.

These 'equal opportunities' based studies all consider the position of women vis-a-vis that of men within the same or similar situation. The lack of additional class or race analysis for instance, prevents the consideration of differences and power-relations which exist between women. This consideration has however been a consistent theme throughout this thesis: from the feminist theoretical differences explored in Chapter 3, to the individual differences discussed in Note 33, and finally to the class, race, and gender analysis of the structures and processes of capitalism and patriarchy which permeate the entire thesis.

The result of this gender, class and race analysis of the ESF Objective 3 policy is the main finding of this thesis. This is, that despite the clear linkage of the ESF with the economic needs of the European Community, and despite the funders' explicit intentions to provide vocational training for unemployed women which will, by meeting the needs of the labour market, increase their employability, there is a definite and highly observable mismatch between such training and the labour market.

The cause of this mismatch between EC training policy and labour market needs seems to lie within the *process* of interpretation which is intrinsically linked with the discourse of equal opportunities. The focus on the gendered and segmented labour force in Chapter 6, traced the economic base from the multi-national capital holders, through the core and peripheral workers, down to the unemployed.

The class, gender and race analysis of this leads to the following conclusion.

> The focus of the training offered to unemployed women does not relate to the needs of the labour market. However, this lack of relationship is not important because, due to their class, gender, and current unemployment, the labour force does not actually need or want them, now - or in the foreseeable future.

This conclusion leads to three areas of concern. The first is the lack of class analysis within the ESF. The second, based on the low employment results, is a reconsideration of the training process. The third, is the discourse of equal opportunities. Following these three areas of concern there is a final section containing the recommendations arising from this research.

The discourse of equal opportunities.

Emerging from the analysis of both the case study and the relevant EC and UK policy documents and interpretations has been the dominant category of equal opportunities - both its discourse and its policy. This research project has found that it has been this discourse of equal opportunities which has informed the policy of the European Social Fund, and that, perhaps more importantly, it has also informed the interpretation of that policy. The conclusion drawn from the analysis of the EC and UK documents was that the discourse of equal opportunities was the dominant filter through which the vocational training policies of the ESF were filtered. Equal opportunities is targeted towards those groups of people who are identified as not otherwise being in a position to gain equal access to the facilities offered by society, for instance, educational and occupational. The analysis of the research findings identified the linkage of the discourse of equal opportunities with that of the labour market and the policies of vocational training. This then led, firstly to the formation, and then to the strengthening, of the first tentative hypothesis, which was:

> *The funders' explicitly stated aim that the intention of the training was to increase employment, was of secondary importance to their primary, and less-explicit, aim of constructing a visible equal opportunities policy.*

The generation of this hypothesis at the end of Chapter 4, included the explicit rejection of any notion of conspiracy theory which might be implied within it. There has been no evidence from the study of either the policy documents or the labour market statistics to indicate a conscious conspiracy operating specifically against black and white working-class women. The findings do, however, point to the key role played by the discourse of equal opportunities, which, in reflecting the needs of the liberal-democratic-capitalist economic base of the European Community, has the *visibility* of the *possibilities* of equal opportunities as one of its defining features. This finding is discussed throughout this section.

The highlighted word 'visible', then, is crucial, for it reflects an integral vital component of equal opportunities. That is, in order for it to have any effect whatsoever, it must be *seen* to be in operation. If there were no tangible, visible, evidence of the policy in operation, the inequalities and injustices within society - which it professes to address - would themselves be more easily identifiable. Visible equal opportunities practice can be seen to resemble a veil, a mist, obscuring or blurring the structural mechanisms and processes of oppression towards groups and sections of society which remain, basically untouched, behind.

The construction of this discourse, reflecting the language and concerns of liberal democracy, centres around 'access' and 'choice', and within the inherent restrictions of its gender-specific analysis, it interprets training policy to mean that women must have access to the 'class-equivalent *male* occupation'- or rather skill area, for in practice, such training rarely leads to paid employment in a related occupation. The result of this gender-specific approach of equal opportunities is that training has been encouraged towards a declining, almost exclusively male dominated, industry, where the chances of entry, let alone success, are extremely limited. This gender-exclusive approach is not exactly class-free,

but is, as part of its theoretical base, necessarily devoid of class, or race, *analysis*.

This important point bears immediate repetition: equal opportunities, despite its statements to the contrary, is *not* class (or race) free. The discourse has been seen to address itself to individuals from sections of society who are seen as having unequal access to the opportunities and facilities available within it. The consequent implication of this is that those who already benefit from these facilities and opportunities do not *need* the policies of equal opportunities. Therefore there is little *specific* policy recognition of inequality being experienced by men, by the middle-classes, by the able-bodied, or by white people. On the contrary, specific policy recognition is directed towards those who traditionally have had little access to opportunity: this means that in education and training, policies of opportunity and access are directed towards the working-class; black people; the physically disabled; people with learning difficulties; and women. However, the presented discourse is that it includes *all* people, and protects the rights and opportunities of each and every individual. This idea relies on the perceived intention of equal opportunities constructing a 'level playing field'.

This concept can be identified in various guises and situations. For instance, within compulsory education where all students have access to the entire range of the curriculum, boys to 'female' subjects, and girls to 'male' ones - in this instance boys, along with girls, are seen to be equally disadvantaged by restricted access to the curriculum; within job interview procedures where an agreed structure is believed to ensure equal access to selection; and in vocational training geared towards skills and occupations previously considered male - whilst there might be an exception, there is nothing approaching the same emphasis on training for men geared towards skills and occupations previously considered female - for, on the contrary, these are considered to be of low-value, low-pay and low-status.

However, even in these three examples the bumps and obstacles in the playing field can be easily identified. In the case of equal access to the school curriculum, it ignores the strength of the linkage between academic subject, or skill, or subsequent occupation, with that of masculinity and femininity and consequently, of those notions with the concept of heterosexuality. In the case of the job interview, the process of visible equality leaves little or no room for discretion, for an understanding of the apparent confidence of individual applicants based on class, race or gender. Part of the intrinsic power of such relations is the relativeness of, for instance, the middle to the working class, of white people to black, of men to women. In each case, the former of these occupies a general power position over the other, and no amount of fair questioning will make the average black working-class woman appear more confident, capable and at ease in the situation, than the average white middle-class man.

In vocational training, the training of women in, for instance, non-traditional manual skills relating to the construction industry, like that of the school curriculum, amongst many other issues covered in this chapter, ignores the extremely powerful linkage between the trades of the building site and the notion of masculinity. Men who are not physically or emotionally able to succeed in this environment have their masculinity questioned by fellow workers. On the other hand, those exceptional women who can succeed in this occupational area, both physically, skilfully, and emotionally, have their femininity questioned. The connection between notions of sexuality and the process of gendering is clear. Furthermore these notions of sexuality are themselves integral to the concept of heterosexuality: the man who cannot work in this situation, and the woman who can, are both likely to be labelled homosexual. The meaning of this is that, irrespective of the quality, and the amount of site experienced involved in the training of women and men, women trying to enter the occupation are far less likely to be successful than a less-qualified, or even less-experienced man. To work on the assumption that by training women

in these male-dominated skill areas means they will have equal opportunities for successful employment is not only, in its ignorance of the processes and structures of gendered, class and race oppression, simplistic, but it is also a waste of what, for many trainees, is their only opportunity of vocational training.

The meaning of this in respect of the above statement that equal opportunities is not class (or race) free lies in the fact that Objective 3 of the ESF, specifying long-term unemployed women is, within the UK, targeted on working-class white and black women. These are the women who are, through the supportive structures of this training in contrast to the non-supportive alternatives, encouraged into non-traditional manual skills training related to the construction industry. Vitally importantly, these are also the women who are *not encouraged* into other skill areas, especially skills relevant to hierarchical movement, and neither are they encouraged, beyond the end-user stage, into those occupations of growth connected with new technology. It is unemployed *working-class* women who are being trained for non-existent jobs in the construction industry. It is unemployed *working-class* women who are not being trained for the higher-status, higher-paid jobs within traditional female industries or occupational areas. And, finally, it is unemployed *working-class* women who are not being trained in the technological skills not simply of the future, but increasingly of the present.

The lack of class analysis in equal opportunities can be identified through this arguably simplistic use of gender, and the inherent assumptions regarding the meaning of 'equal opportunities'. In considering women, the discourse of equal opportunities sees only the gender: the inequality experienced by women is because of their gender, and therefore in order to address this inequality it is necessary to provide access to that which men have. Chapter 6 showed an increase in the number of women employed in managerial and professional occupations. This can be seen as the middle-class traditionally male dominated occupational area. This small

hierarchical movement of some privileged women is part of the ideology of equal opportunities which argues that 'things have changed', that women can 'make it if they want to', that equal opportunities is working. This movement however, wonderful as it is, is nevertheless exceptional. The majority of women, relative to men of their class, race, age or educational background, are employed in low-paid, low-status occupations.

The women targeted through Objective 3 of the ESF are working-class women. The analysis of the policy and the interpretations of the equal opportunities discourse developed throughout this thesis has shown 'inequality' to be perceived as gender-based. This has resulted in a policy of opportunity geared towards men's traditional skills and occupations. The analysis has shown this to mean that the access of working-class women is towards the occupations and skills of working-class men; the access of middle-class women towards the occupations and skills of middle-class men. This interpretation results in working-class women being encouraged into manual skills, and middle-class women into, for example, science and engineering. Furthermore, in order to show the extent of the equal opportunities approach, access is encouraged towards the *most* traditional male occupations. These could be seen as being perhaps miners, dockers, truck-drivers and construction workers. Training in Britain, throughout the 1980s, centred on construction skills. The understanding of the class of these women, is simply reflected in the most extreme of their male class counterparts.

However, even within the confines of this gender-specific policy, it would be possible to identify traditional male occupations within predominantly female industries: such as the pattern maker or cutter in the textile industry; the cutter in the printing industry; or clerical work as opposed to typist. It is arguable that in every industry in which women work, there are occupations which are dominated by men. Training towards these 'male' occupations would use the skills and knowledge of that industry which a woman might already have. This would not only provide opportunity to

traditional male occupations, but because male occupations within an industry generally carry more status and responsibility, and are better paid, it would also provide women with training related to hierarchical under-representation. It does not however, fulfil to the same extent as non-traditional manual skills, this vital function of equal opportunities policy: that of *visibility.*

The essence of this argument is that working-class women are seen as unequal in relation to men, not in relation to their class (or race) position. This gendered definition of inequality determines the vocational training policy. Whilst professing a widening of opportunity, the extent of the prioritising of certain types of training and the neglect of adequate support and encouragement towards other types of training actually restricts the broader choice. Access is encouraged towards certain traditionally male dominated occupations. At the same time, the extent of the resources allocated to that training, and the lack of alternative equally well supported training, effects a process of closure on other occupations. The extent of this was considered in depth in the previous Chapter.

In addition to the neglect of training related to the hierarchical under-representation mentioned above, the most obvious occupational area of closure has been that related to new technology. This process of closure is a crucial component of the effective male gendering of new technology. Numerous reports have consistently pointed to the impact of new technology on practically all other occupational areas and industries. This has been evidenced over the last decade by the general decline in employment as technology has changed the means of production, resulting in further unemployment. The ESF-led spurt of interest in new technology training in the mid eighties was subsequently omitted from further ESF and UK policy documents. Yet, the fast-track of new technological impact on occupations and domestic life, has continued unabated. The indication is that the need for technological skills and understanding remains, and has probably increased.

A focus for the consideration of this is the actual type and level of new technology training which was provided. There are two ways in which new technology training has been delivered to unemployed working-class women: entire new technology courses and that appended to, for instance, training in non-traditional manual skills. In 1991, there were very few instances where the first type of training led to recognisable transferable qualifications, and none of the second type.[1]

However, from within the discourse of equal opportunities, it is arguable that it is the *type* of training which has most influenced the present training policy relegation of new technology. New technology training has tended to concentrate on 'end-user' keyboarding skills. This aspect of new technology most resembles earlier typewriting and secretarial skills: one of the most female dominated occupations. To provide this type of training is more akin to that of traditional female skills, and that does not fit within the above mentioned framework of equal opportunities. Furthermore, to provide more creative or technical training in new technological skills is to enter into the arena of hierarchical training, and neither does this fit the gender-focus of equal opportunities. A class analysis of new technology training for women, shows that this ESF Objective 3 training, is considerably different from the new technology vocational training increasingly provided through higher education to post-graduate women students, where the MSc outcome is a prestigious and easily transferrable qualification.

The decline in the priority of new technology training within Objective 3, would benefit from further study, particularly a comparative study with other Member States: both in relation to the types of training provided, the qualifications gained, and an evaluation of the present situation.

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[1] For examples of this see Note 37.

Other possibilities for further research are indicated by the individual questions generated from the case study and which can be found at the end of Chapter 4.

This research project has pursued a class, race and gender analysis of the ESF *policy*. A person's race has not been one of the specifically mentioned concerns for training within the ESF. There is therefore no specific policy interpretation to be followed or considered. Within this study the class of the women, black and white, has been the particular focus of attention with specific regards to women's economic situation, their educational attainment and possible future employment within the labour market, and consequently the impact of ESF policy upon this. The belief, however, that the experience of black working-class women, as participants on training projects, workers and trainees, or within the labour market, will be different from white working-class women is based upon an understanding of the racism, personal and institutional, which is present throughout the western world. The implementation of ESF policy with regards to race is yet another important area of study for future research.

The training process.

The stated conclusion at the beginning of the previous section was that the mismatch between the training provision and the needs of the labour market is not important because the class, gender and unemployed status of the women renders them superfluous to the needs of the labour market. This has led, not only to a questioning of the impact of the discourse of equal opportunities, but also to a re-questioning of the *declared objective* of the ESF training itself. That is to say, the objective might, after all, be primarily social and not, despite all the documentary evidence to the contrary, economic. The structures of opportunity, of childcare and support, do constitute a *visible* representation of the EC's equal opportunities policy: that is practical political or formal equality, holding out the tantalising promise of material equality.

Within this liberal-democratic based discourse, the belief in 'equal opportunity', in the possibility of individual material equality matters more than the actual outcome. For it is the belief in individual possibilities which, masking the structural group based material inequalities, maintains the power relations and privileges and oppressions of the status quo.

This means that the tangible structures, and the *process* of the training, can be seen, within the constraints of liberal-democracy, as being as important as the outcomes - and arguably, more so. Although having said that, there must be some individual successes in order to maintain the promise of its possibility. There have been, it seems, just enough jobs gained by the women to allow the belief in its possibilities to continue.

Within this context, in addition to the importance of the *process* of the training, there is the crucial aspect of *belief* in that process. The case study showed the extent of the trainee's belief in this process. It also showed the extent of the worker's belief, and what is more, the extent of their commitment to its success. So much so, that from within their own political, broadly feminist agenda, they added their own notions of success. These were based on the confidence gained and on any movement made, either educationally, or towards further training or back into the traditionally female, low-paid labour market.

The grounded theory approach of this research pursued the dominant category which emerged from the analysis of the case study. This, based on the suspicions of the workers, was the questioning of the intention of the ESF training policy. These suspicions have been found, through the analysis of the ESF and UK documents, and through secondary data relating to the EC and UK labour markets, to be well founded. Comparative research into the interpretations of the same ESF policy within other Member States would enable these UK findings to be located within a broader European framework.

However, other issues emerging from the case study were not, within the time and financial constraints of this research, able to be pursued. In the light of the above subsequent findings regarding the importance of the training process, further research into the role played by feminist workers would be a valuable addition to the understanding of the effective working of equal opportunities policies, especially in relation to vocational training projects.

The discourse of equal opportunities.

The discourse of equal opportunities has been shown throughout this study to be directly linked to the perceived economic needs of the European Community - rooted as it is in the Treaty of Rome which was itself a direct response to these economic needs.

This knowledge of the economic root of equal opportunities leads to the understanding that despite appearances to the contrary, its prime concern is not 'social justice', but the enabling of free market forces to flourish within a European Community where one Member State cannot have an unfair advantage over another due to employment of cheaper labour: for instance women or migrants. Equal opportunities masks the essentially unequal needs of capitalism behind it. Yet the demands of capitalism are not centred on the individual as such, but on groups of labour who remain basically in competition with each other and not with the holders of capital. The unequal position of women also serves the needs of patriarchy - or the needs of patriarchy have ensured that women are positioned unequally in regards to capitalism. It really matters very little which came first, the chicken or the egg, the result is, as was shown so conclusively within Chapter 6, that women are class for class, and race for race, in a consistently inferior position to men within the labour market, and that this economic disadvantage is one of the factors, along with male violence, and biological necessity, which places women in an inferior position within the domestic situation.

Through its focus on the ESF, this thesis has repeatedly shown the effect on working class women of the interwoven structures of capitalism and patriarchy. As capitalism continuously operates in the interests of capitalists who benefit from their economic power over the labour of others, so patriarchy continuously operates in the interests of men who materially benefit from their maintained power, (physical, economic and ideological), over women. In both cases, 'exclusion' maintains that power in the hands of the current holders: the means of production from labour, and material equality from women. Specifically in relation to the findings from this research it is seen in the lack of well supported training leading to hierarchical under-representation, to less 'visible' traditional male occupations, and to the important growth areas connected with new technology, whilst these themselves are actively being gendered male.

The strength, the power, of the discourse of equal opportunities lay in its ability to mask such class, race and gender based inequalities and create instead these crucial contrary 'appearances'. In this way equal opportunities presents an appearance of individual equality, an individual legal or contractual 'right' of access. Each individual is granted access to the opportunities to succeed: educationally, occupationally and economically. The force which has driven this egalitarian discourse is embedded in the concept of liberal-democracy. Hall (1982), considering the ideology of liberal democracy, points out:

> "liberal-democracy can only work (ie seem sufficiently fair and equal to command popular consent), if, somehow, the democracy part can make equal what the liberal-market part constantly makes unequal. ... The system itself actually generates classes and class inequalities (plus gender and race inequalities), liberal-democratic ideology substitutes *individual* equality." (Hall 1982 p32/3)

The lack of class analysis within equal opportunities is seen to reflect its base within the discourse of liberal democracy. Liberal democracy, working in the interests of liberal-capitalism, operating through a myriad of structures and processes, creates power-

relations based on class, race and gender. However, this discourse of liberal-democracy can, through its own theoretical base, only ever acknowledge *individual* inequality.

In apparent contradiction to this focus on the individual is the gendered definition of inequality which is based on the identification of 'the group' of women. However, this is only apparent, for it can, and does, address *women* from within this acknowledged individual-based framework of equal opportunities. This is done through the concept of *formal*, or political inequality. For instance, suffrage, equal pay and sex discrimination have all been addressed through legislation. In line with the ideas of liberalism the adjustment of the legal framework is seen to ensure the rights of the individual, meaning that each individual, man or woman, also has equal access to the opportunities and chances offered by society: the playing field has been levelled.

In addition to this general location of equal opportunities within the foundational discourse of liberal-democracy, there remains the question of why it operates as it does at this particular time. Equal opportunities can, arguably, be seen as a necessary response of late twentieth century liberal democracy to the needs of capitalism as it is affected by changes in demography, the particular needs of multi-nationalist corporations, and the major technological changes taking place not only in the processes of production but in the structures and processes of the capitalist system itself: the technological hyper-space transfer of capital from one money market to another.

The speed of these technological changes have resulted in fluctuations in the specified needs of the labour market, which have been further confused by the length and depth of the present recession. Through the eighties, the identified demographic changes indicated the need for women, (especially trained professional women), to be encouraged to return to the workforce after having children. Two of the leading organisations in the field of 'equal

opportunities' during this time were the finance sector (especially the high street banks), and local authorities. The impact of the recession can be seen on both, compounded by new technology in banks and by central government financial restrictions on local authorities. Given that the discourse of equal opportunities is so clearly rooted in and responsive to the needs of the economy, when the needs of the economy change, so will the discourse which accompanies it - especially in relationship to those who make up the lower two-tiers of Sarre's segmentation model: the peripheral and the unemployed. For instance, both local authorities and banks have cut back on their equal opportunities structures for enabling the return of women workers - for example, flexible work hours and creche facilities. A leaked CBI Report argues that the need no longer exists for 'equal opportunities' aimed at "women, ethnic minorities, the disabled, long-term unemployed, the over-50s and ex-offenders" - the labour market no longer has a need for them.[2]

On the other hand, to acknowledge and address class based inequality relies on the concept of *material*, or economic inequality. However, group (for example, class) based, material inequality, is an integral and necessary part of capitalism. In Marxist terms it is the difference between the owners of the means of production and those who have only their labour to sell or exchange. This is the crucial difference between material and political inequality. For, in direct contrast to the universal intentions of political equality, only a select group can have material or economic power. The premise within liberal democracy is that:

> "Since individuals are not the same in their desire for - or indeed, their capacity to obtain - material goods, the principle of equality does not require that they be treated equally in the distribution of these goods." (Holden 1988 p31)

This quote points to the power of the discourse of liberal democracy and to the underlying rationale for equal opportunities: its concentration on individual access, not outcomes; its focus on gender inequality and neglect of class based inequality, and its subsequent reflection in vocational training policies. Gender

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[2] This press article can be found in Note 41.

related inequality can be addressed through formal access to opportunities; class related inequality would require economic inequality to be addressed and this is inherently contradictory to the very nature of capitalism, and as such cannot be done unless the parameters of liberal capitalism itself are challenged. The legislative based gendered approach presents an apparent equality of access and opportunity, protected by the state, between men and women. However, the structures and processes, the power, of patriarchy act as a brake upon it. One such patriarchal process, detailed in Note 5, is that which, centred on sexuality, leads both to the gendering of skills and occupations, and to the heterosexual structure of marriage.

The emergence of this key issue of equal opportunities and the understanding of its location within the discourse of liberal-democracy finds clear expression within liberal feminist thought in general, and in their analysis of the sex-segregation of the labour market in particular. This liberal-feminist position related directly to the concept of sex-stereotyping, whereby particular skills and occupations were seen to be based on *traditional* notions of masculinity and femininity. Such notions could be challenged by positive actions which would encourage women into these 'male' occupations and skill areas. Within the liberal discourse, women, as rational human beings, must have the same 'right' to occupations and skills as that held by men. Within this framework women are positioned in relation to men. Women, traditionally, have not had equal legally-protected 'rights', and within this discourse, the rectification of this formal inequality is the means to the society in which each individual man, and woman, will have the same opportunities to succeed.

The gender-specific, class neglected, approach of liberal based equal opportunities, mirrors the white middle-class feminists of the 1970s. The white class arrogance of this belief that women's shared gender is more important that any possible difference based, for example, on class, education, race, ethnicity, sexual preference,

disability or economic position could be, was seen in Chapter 3 to be challenged by black women, and by white and black working-class women, and by lesbians challenging heterosexual assumptions.

Although this fracturing of feminism can be seen to have many similarities with the pluralism, the multi-subjectivity of much of postmodernist thought, and although it comes from a similar critique of the construct of knowledge, truth and universality, there remains a critique, for example within socialist feminist thought, of this fragmentation leading to an individualism from which no collective theory, (or subsequent action towards change), can be constructed.

The argument developed in the course of this thesis, based on a socialist-feminist perspective, presents a class and race analysis of the gender-specificity of the EC equal opportunities policy as it relates to the vocational training policy of the ESF. From within this theoretical framework, the material, or economic, inequalities experienced by white and black working-class women, are as important, if not more so, than the formal or political inequalities addressed from within liberal democracy. Liberal feminists, believing that the only obstacle to their equality is formal, believe that with this removed, and with special temporary measures to ensure access to skills and occupations previously denied women, individual women will be able to compete equally with individual men and thereby gain their rightful share of the good things, the benefits, of society.

From within a socialist feminist perspective a conclusion gained from this research project is that measures relating purely to formal inequality are, despite their obvious limitations, nevertheless an important step towards more general equality. During the first half of this century, in Britain, women have been 'granted' the vote; gradually throughout the century, laws regarding property, inheritance and rights to independent credit, are de-gendered; and since the sixties laws have been passed to ensure that women can become council tenants; women have certain abortion

rights; women are legally entitled to equal pay, and to protection from discrimination due to their sex; and also originating from the Treaty of Rome, women have equal rights to vocational training provision. Yet despite all this legislation, the material or economic position of women is that, in general, and in relation to men of their class and race, they are employed in lower-paid, lower-status, and lower-valued jobs within the labour market. Consequently, the majority of women are economically dependent on men, or the state. In this way both the needs of capitalism: that is, to pay as low wages as possible for its labour, and those of patriarchy: that men are superior to women, are mutually beneficial to each other, and each continue to be met.

The strategy of 'equal opportunities', in order to increase its effectiveness in relation to training for unemployed working-class women, must recognise and address the issues of class. This is to say that working-class women are as disadvantaged in their class - educationally, environmentally and economically, as they are by their gender. An additional disadvantage is experienced by black women living in a white dominated and fundamentally racist society.

The question of the type of society which could be envisaged where the material equality of all its citizens is as assured as that of its political equality, is both extremely difficult to address and extremely easy. To envisage a society of true political and economic equality is to conjure visions of utopia, and the structures, processes and beliefs which would enable such a society to function is to name a goal I think it impossible to reach, or if ever reached, to sustain. However, to engage in the *process*, the *struggle*, towards such a goal represents, arguably, the best possible human condition. A consequence of this view is a dismissal of the long-term possibilities of revolution, for this will only change the power structures and basis of material inequalities, not dispose of them altogether: the process of struggle would still remain. From this theoretical position regarding the human condition, political equality is, as part of this process, a vital

step. Political equality can not provide material equality, but material equality can never come, barring the *temporary* relief gained by revolution, without political equality.

However, the continuation of gender, class and race material inequalities, remains fundamental to the power relations of capitalism and patriarchy. Therefore, even with an added class and race analysis, equal opportunities related or influenced policies remain only strategies for increasing an *individual's* access to the opportunities, facilities, and possible rewards of society. Group based, that is gender, class and race, material inequalities must remain in order that the interests of capitalism and patriarchy are served, and their mutual continual well-being assured. Political equality in general, and equal opportunities legislation and policies in particular, create the *illusion* of equal access to material equality. The workers interviewed in the case study, for instance, expressed suspicion regarding the 'real' intentions of the funders, but they were not critical of 'equal opportunities' as such. In fact, they seemed to believe in the 'value' of the policy, they simply thought that it was not being properly implemented. The extent and the power of the illusion of equal opportunities in regard to vocational training is evidenced by this research. Its power is the extent of belief by those only recently granted political equality, (that is, women), in its *intention* as well as its *ability* to give equal access to and outcomes of material equality.

Recommendations.

Before listing specific recommendations, there are two general, underlying points which should be borne in mind in relation to training for unemployed working-class women.

Firstly, such women often have a history of failure, either educationally or occupationally. To believe that the lack of employment resulting from training is their own fault is not only morally wrong, but it adds to and compounds all their previous

failures as well. Secondly, training should be based on the assumption that unemployed working-class women *want* to improve their economic situation: that they want to work, that they want to earn money, and that they want the benefits within society which only money can buy.

From this fundamental assumption comes another: that confidence gained through the process of the training is in itself no substitute for vocational training which acknowledges and builds on the existing skills and experience of women to create their best employment chances, but which, nevertheless, in the present and possible future economic situation, remain extremely slim.

The specific recommendations arising from this research project are, given the above discussion on the impossibility of reaching a utopian state, necessarily pragmatic. However, discounting utopia does not mean that people engaged in the struggle should ever give up the attempt of constructing, and maintaining, as close a version of it as possible. The intention therefore is to struggle towards the best achievable material equality for all people. At its very least, such a notion requires an acknowledgment of, and an attempt to address, the existence of material inequality. Therefore:

1) A class and race analysis of gender within equal opportunities policies is essential.

2) Vocational training opportunities for working-class unemployed women should not be restricted by notions of traditional under-representation, but should work towards offering as broad a choice as possible of equally well supported funding opportunities.

3) For example, training should be included which leads to male dominated occupations within traditional female industries.

4) For example, training should be included which is directed to hierarchical under-representation of women.

5) For example, training should respond more accurately to the demands of the labour market, (European, national and local), this way the employability of women would be increased.

6) In particular training should respond to the main trends in the labour market - such as new technology training which is not restricted to 'end-user' skills, which are already becoming obsolete. This means taking heed of future predictions for the labour market.

7) Vocational training for unemployed working-class women should have as much choice, and as much opportunity for progression, built into it as possible.

8) The progression element is vital, for it allows women to reach their own best potential - either educational or vocational.

These recommendations have been restricted to the field of ESF vocational training programmes. Similar financial, childcare and emotional support in the mainstream of Further Education provision would increase women's choice considerably.

One of the workers interviewed in the case study, in summarizing the needs of the trainees, provides a suitable final statement for this thesis:

> "Well it does give women the space to do it, it does give women the opportunity to do it, but it helps some more than others, by virtue of what it is. If you were single or with a partner - and have got children, it's a huge help because it can pay costs, your childcare costs - the allowance is minimal, the bus fares right, well you've got to pay them anyway, and also if you've got kids, and you're youngish then you might be happy to work three or four years towards getting what you want. But I think, take some of the single women, which would include some of the lesbians, it's a very slow route. What does it actually achieve ? It makes it possible, but you see nothing else has changed. The women end up with a City and Guilds qualification and very little hands-on work experience and it's worth bugger-all really." (W)

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX 1

NOTES.

Note 1 Relevant legislation of the European Community.

1957 - Treaty of Rome:

Article 119: Equal pay for women and men.
Article 123: The European Social Fund.
Articles 57, 118, 128: Vocational training.

2 April 1963 - Common vocational training policy.

Council Decision laying down general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy.
Document 63/226/EEC Official Journal 10 April 1963

1975 - Directive: Equal pay for work of Equal Value.

Directive 75/117: the first Directive aimed at implementing Article 119:
'Equal Pay for Men and Women -
Equal Pay for work of Equal Value.'

1976 - Transition from education to work.

Preparation of young people for working life and for transition from education to work.
Document R/32290/e/76 (EDUC 52) 8 October 1976

1976 - Directive: Equal access to Vocational Training.

Directive 76/207/EEC of 9 February 1976:
the first Directive explicitly specifying the implementation of the principle of
'equal treatment for men and women
as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion and working conditions.'

Article 4 of the Directive specifies the principle of
'equal opportunities with regard to access
"to all types and all levels of vocational
guidance, vocational training, advanced
vocational training and re-training."

1979 - Equal treatment in matters of Social Security.
Directive 79/7 regarding the

'equal treatment for men and women in
matters of social security.'

1987 - Recommendation on vocational training for women.

Adopted 24 November 1987.
Re-stressed the requirement on Member States to implement Directive 76/207/EEC.

Article 3 obliges Member States to report, within three years, on the measures taken by them to effect this recommendation.

The initiative, IRIS, comes out of this Directive.

1986 - Signing of the Single European Act.

Enforced 1987.
Single European Market effective from 1 January 1993.

Legality of documents.

1. Treaties, Regulations and Directives:
Each Member State is legally bound to comply with these, to enact and enforce them. They are to pass national legislation, if necessary, to enable them to do so.

2. Directives:
An action to be achieved by a set date, but the actual method of implementation is left to the individual Member State government.

3. Decisions:
More narrowly specific than Directives, but still legally binding to the addressee.

4. Recommendations and Opinions:
These give the relevant institutions' point-of-view, but they have no legal force.

Note 2 Marx and Weber.

Marx and Weber provide the starting points for consideration of the 'divisions' within society. Marx refined his early emphasis on class resulting from 'ownership of production' to a more complex model focused on 'relations of production'. Sarre (1989a) refers to Rattansi's work on Marx, in which he shows him moving away from his "idea of historical inevitability", (p86), recognising the growth of middle-class positions; the fragmentation of workers by, for instance, skill and gender, and the resulting conflict between them. However, the prime concern of Neo-Marxists remains the analysis of class within a model of ultimate economic determinism and an epistemological emphasis on the underlying structures within society.

On the other hand, Weber saw class, (market position), as simply one of three factors involved in the divisions within society, the other two are 'status group', (for example, 'women'), and 'political party'. Lockwood (1958), took Weber's 'market situation', (class), and subjective 'status group' and, influenced by Marx's concerns with the relations of production, added the concept of 'work situation': the model he used in his much referred to research on the class identification of clerks. Sarre (1989a), points out that it is Lockwood's model: market situation, status group, and work situation, which has developed into the one most accepted as the basis for explaining the processes of class formation. Parkin (1979), continued in this tradition and argued that status was as historically significant as class. Parkin rejected the construction of formal structural models and concentrated instead on the way in which 'classes' developed around collective action - hence the importance of 'process'. (see Sarre 1989a) The prime concern of Neo-Weberians remains that of the complex shifting relationship between status, class, economic position and political position, with the epistemological base being the "observable social processes", and not the underlying structures of Marxist analysis.

Neither Neo-Marxists nor Neo-Weberians necessarily include gender in their analysis: even radical labour market theorists differ in the importance they give to gender divisions: some simply consider gender a 'by-product' of the struggle between capital and labour, (for example, Humphries 1977, 1981); some ignore it altogether, (such as Kreckel 1980); and for some gender is central to their analysis, (for instance, Hartmann 1976). The concentration, in Chapters 2 and 6, on individual feminist theorists, resonate more with Weberian theory than with Marxist. These theorists are interested in the social structures, the processes and relationships of gendering, as well as in the underlying economic structure of the labour market.

Note 3 City Technology Colleges.

The 1988 Education Reform Act, as well as heralding the National Curriculum, also brought in the City Technology College (CTC). The CTC is a more selective, and higher status, successor to TVEI and is, to date, the last major
Government initiative for vocational education in schools. (Ainley 1990) The first three CTCs were opened in 1988/9. The Government funding of CTCs has been extensively criticised: £7 million spent on the first CTC alone; more money spent on setting-up the Nottingham CTC than for the entire remaining county education provision; in 1989 the Government spent £33 million on the three existing CTCs:

> "more than it set aside for the introduction that year of the National Curriculum into all 30,000 schools in the country." (Ainley 1990 p33)

Furthermore, two major intentions of CTCs have not been fulfilled: firstly, financial backing from industry has not been forthcoming; secondly, by 1990 only one out of, by then, a total of 27 CTCs, was in an inner-city area.

This highly-funded high-status vocational training is, unlike TVEI, aimed at the academically able, and unlike Youth Training, does not concentrate on the traditional manual skills, but on new technology, computer science and wider applications of science and technology. (see Ainley 1990 p27/33.

The CTCs attract the "most highly motivated pupils" and enables them, through the most well-funded state education available, to acquire the vocational skills of one of the few areas of industrial expansion and subsequent power. (Education Minister quoted in Ainley 1990 p31)

Note 4 The MSC: youth and adult training.

Youth Training.

Since the Conservative election of 1979, youth training, along with youth unemployment, has expanded: from 70,000 trainees in 1979 to 396,000 in 1988. (Hollands 1990) The school-work transition period for the working-class has, from the raising of the school leaving age, (1972/3), been constantly extended. Young people have been denied their rights as workers: paid an allowance not a wage; their rights to a contract of employment, to collective bargaining or to withhold their labour, have all been denied them. Their entitlement to protection under the Race Relations, Sex Discrimination and Health and Safety legislation was successfully fought for. (Hollands 1990) Even so, the fatal and major accident rate has grown to 132.2 per 100,000, compared with 90 per 100,000 for all employees. (Ainley 1990 p37)

These predominantly working-class young people have also been denied their rights as adults. Unable to find employment they are forced into Youth Training in order to qualify for state benefits. Pond (1989) expects this to further lower the declining economic position of young people. However, the linkage between benefit and training is not new: in 1984/5 11,000 young people had their benefits cut because they left their YTS scheme. (Ainley 1990 p35) But what is new is that Youth Training is now a condition of entitlement to benefit, and the age limit raised from 18 to 25. The absence of employment, along with Government restrictions on state benefits, have made such young people increasingly dependent upon their family: their full adult entitlement to benefit, if neither married nor a parent themselves, is denied them until the age of 25.

The importance of such training schemes for young unemployed people is considerable. Hollands (1990) found, in the West Midlands city of his study, that 40% of the relevant age group were on training schemes. Six months after leaving school only 9.2% of fifth-form

leavers had found employment. Able-bodied white men and women were more likely to find employment than black young people. Race and gender are the two most obvious divides within this almost total working-class grouping.

Firstly, the position of young women: black and white. Marsh (1986) found that in 1984, women were outnumbered by men in all MSC Training Workshops. Training was conducted on strictly 'traditional' lines: 64% of young women YTS trainees were trained in either administrative and clerical work or sales and personal service work; 83% of young women received training in only four occupational areas: clerical, retailing, catering and personal services. Less than 3% of all trainees at MSC Information and Technology Centres (ITeCs) were women, and these themselves tended:

> "to be ghettoized in word-processing and keyboard work, while young men went more into electronics, programming and servicing." (Marsh 1986 p161/2)

Significantly, the only ITeC exception to this was the one managed by a woman.

Where equal opportunities led, 'non-traditional' training is offered, there remains clear gendered differences between a young man learning traditional female skills, and a young woman learning traditional male ones. Cockburn (1987) describes the young men as carrying "some potential status with them (whereby) they have a chance of pulling themselves upwards above the women in the group." (p140) As well as the distinctions in 'labelling' (chefs, cooks; fashion designers, dress-makers), young men in traditional female occupations often rise more quickly to positions of power, such as in primary education or nursing. (Cockburn 1987) 'Male superiority' can itself be constructed within Youth Training. Office work is separated into management (male) and clerical work (female). Administration and retail training is constructed for (white) men as a "practical start up the corporate hierarchy." (Hollands 1990 p110)

Secondly, the position of young black people. The MSC (1986) commissioned Report on the 'special needs' of young black people found, not surprisingly, that there was ingrained (often overt) racism throughout the scheme from agents, managers, and careers officers: young black people sent, by virtue of their race alone, to the lower status B-mode training schemes. (see Pollert 1986)

Cockburn (1987) also refers to widespread racism and sexism inherent in many Youth Training schemes, and she points out that:

> "... young black women often have to deal with both racial and sexual violence. White young men frequently administer both, and while women may occasionally be a source of fear to other women, women are not a source of fear to men: that is a significant difference." (Cockburn 1987 p38)

Individual exceptions do not alter this general observation of the power of violence.

From April 1990, Youth Training was taken away from the then defunct MSC, and placed in the hands of the local TECs. This marked the end of the attempt to nationally co-ordinate school-work transition training. The DE advised the TECs to direct young people with 'special training needs' to one of three categories:

> i. those requiring initial training of up to 6 months;
> ii. those who will not achieve NVQ level 2;
> iii. those able to achieve NVQ 2 only with additional help.
>
> "Youth Training schemes thus fall into 2 basic categories: those which place primary emphasis on trainees gaining a qualification and those where the main aim will be to get trainees quickly into jobs. The former trainees will be worth investing in to the level of NVQ levels 3 and 4, (equivalent to Craft and Technician levels respectively). The latter may need help to reach level 2 but if they have 'still not found employment by the age of 17.5 years he/she is to be offered intensive job search and tasting or training in enterprise and self-employment." (Ainley 1990 p39/40)

Chapter 5 shows the persistence of the appeal of 'enterprise and self-employment' training throughout ESF funding policy.

Adult training.

All the observations and criticisms of Youth Training are equally valid when looking at the MSC provision for adult training. It too has shown a similar race and gender bias towards white, able-bodied, men. Pollert (1986) refers to the Community Placement scheme where it was shown that 92% of all placements were white, 5% Afro-Caribbean, and 3% Asian. Not surprisingly, 97% of the scheme supervisors were white. Unfortunately she does not include a gender analysis.

The MSC consistently showed itself reluctant to give any consideration to the special needs of women: there has been no women-only *vocational* training. On the very limited women-only provision such as *Wider opportunities for women* (WOW), there has been little concern shown towards women's childcare responsibilities, nor has there been much attempt to provide childcare facilities. (Marsh 1986) The rationale for this is that:

> "We consider it important that applicants for training should demonstrate that they can make arrangements to cope with domestic commitments during the course of their training as they will have to do so if they wish to take employment." (Chairman of the MSC 1981, quoted in Wickham 1986 p100)

The MSC has not kept gendered statistics of provision or recruitment. What little statistical data there is has been concerned with race. The MSC were, for most of the 1980s, extremely influential in the fields of youth and adult unemployment training. Their training upheld the traditional gender and race occupational and hierarchical structures.

Note 5 **'Skill' and 'femininity'.**

The construct of 'femininity' is directly linked to the concept of the gendering of 'skills' which runs throughout this study. 'Double conformity' and the 're-contextualisation of gender' are two concepts used in the analysis of 'femininity' within this context of vocational training. These concepts are found to be intrinsically linked with the notion of heterosexuality.

'Double-conformity' describes that process whereby girls and women are compelled to prove themselves against the 'male standard' whilst at the same time remaining 'marriageable and ladylike'. (Delamont 1983) Women must be seen as being 'as good as the men'. This is especially true when entering a previously male domain, where at the same time, the woman must be seen as undoubtedly 'feminine'. This means that a woman brick-layer for instance, must prove herself to be as good a brick-layer as the men around her, and yet, somehow, by her dress, attitude and behaviour, show herself to be a 'real feminine woman'.

The linkage between double-conformity and heterosexuality is clear. To be 'marriageable and ladylike' one must be, at least apparently, heterosexual. Jones and Mahoney (1989) have stressed the 'sexuality' fears linked to gender-atypical subjects or jobs. 'Lezzie' and 'poofter' enforce heterosexuality, just as 'slag' and 'whore' enforce an assumed morality. The *apparent* conforming universality of heterosexuality is maintained. Cockburn (1987) considers the power operating within this enforcement.

> "In learning a man's trades and skills, working in a male workplace alongside men, young women take a dual risk. If they are seen to be there 'for the boys' they will be labelled slag. If they disregard the boys and show aptitude for the work they will be labelled lesbian. In a world where feminine gender-identity is a large part of a working woman's stock-in-trade 'a man's job' in the long run is a social hazard." (Cockburn 1987 p41/2)

The importance of perceived 'gender-appropriate sexuality', essentially heterosexual, peaks during adolescence to young

adulthood. This period, overlapping as it does with the working-class school-work transition period, enforces the perceived importance of gender-typical training and employment. (Hollands 1990; Griffin 1985a, 1985b; Cohen 1982)

It has been widely found that working-class school-girls are in little doubt that their gendered future is centred on marriage and motherhood.[1] The importance of their 'hetero'-sexuality is clear: their future within their local working-class community is seen to depend upon their sexual conformity. Lack of earning capability increases their economic reliance on men. (see Chapter 6) An integral part of what Hartmann (1979) called 'patriarchal capitalism', is the demand for unquestioned heterosexuality, within which women represent the ideal of femininity.

The 're-contextualisation' of gender (Kelly 1985a), attempts to explain the process whereby apparent 'sex-appropriate' behaviour is converted into particular gendered skill areas, school subjects, training areas, undergraduate courses, and areas of employment: some feminine, some masculine, and a few, common to both, are further refined by hierarchical structures.

An example of re-contextualisation of gender is found in a study of trainee technicians, where the supervisors considered the 'girls' to be less technically capable than their 'male colleagues' as well as lacking in leadership qualities. Continual re-contextualisation is evident in the response of the young women themselves. Whilst, on the one hand, believing themselves better than the male trainees, they nevertheless dismissed this in their reiteration of the supervisor's belief that they lacked "leadership or technical ability." (Breakwell and Weinberger 1987 p1) The researchers found that this gendering, within one apparently equal occupation, continued even after they became qualified technicians, for they

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[1] This discussion can be located in the following texts: McRobbie 1978, 1980; Wallace 1986; Holland 1988; Hollands 1990; Rees 1988; Griffin 1985a, 1985b.

retained shared "clear ideas about the sort of tasks appropriate for female as opposed to male technicians." (p4)

Holland (1988) describes how the equal opportunities led 'new vocationalism' can itself lead to a process of closure:

> "The processes and behaviours described as resistance often lead to conformity, to self-socialisation into expected gender and/or class positions. (p142)

Anyon (1983) uses the concept of 'accommodation and resistance' to show, for instance, how individual women can use femininity to improve their position within certain situations and, by doing so, find themselves accommodating to it by reinforcing their dependence on men. This is similar to Willis's (1977) finding that the 'resistance' of working-class 'lads' to middle-class education, results in their eventual 'inversion' of manual labour as being superior to mental labour. This reliance on a traditional image of 'macho' male-masculinity is obviously as occupationally limiting for working-class 'lads' as the corresponding 'glamour-passivity' of female-femininity is for the 'girls'. However, the specific aspects of masculinity emphasised are those which esteem physical power, and which when transferred into the domestic sphere, give the 'lad' patriarchal power over 'his' woman who has equally effectively learnt the 'value' of glamour and the passivity of femininity.

Hollands (1990) describes young women's perceptions of the hierarchy of jobs as being related to this concept of femininity. From the factory assembly-line jobs at the bottom of the hierarchy, come warehouse and distribution work. Para-professional and domestic work: including childcare and the care of elderly and disabled people, is followed by catering and service industry occupations. At the top of this hierarchy are the esteemed 'glam' jobs: office work, high fashion jewellery, clothes and cosmetics retail, hairdressing, fashion design and beauty therapy. Hollands argues that the 'glamorous' section expects women to sell their 'feminine (hetero)sexuality' along with the actual consumer product.

It is argued that Youth Training has fractured the traditional school-work transitional culture: the working-class sense of labour-community, trade-union solidarity, and traditional (gendered) occupational continuity. (Hollands 1990) It has not, however, challenged the traditional gendered-expectations of the future: for working-class women these are, essentially, marriage, motherhood and probable part-time, low-paid, low-status employment. (see Chapter 6)

Re-contextualisation and new vocationalism, could seem initially, to be mutually exclusive. In encouraging gender-atypical training, 'sex-appropriate' behaviour may be ignored or relegated to a secondary position. Yet for the women concerned, the pressures of 'double conformity', the requirement of 'femininity', remains. The age, race, disability or class of the girls or women may be variables to be considered. It may be that 'sex-appropriate' behaviour is particularly class and age related: less important for the working class or older women.

Gender-atypical training may even, in an inverse relationship to the traditional 'maleness' of the subject, result in increasing 'sex-appropriate' behaviour: that is to say, the more 'male' the activity, the more 'female' the women or girl must show herself to be. For instance, manual labour is seen by working-class men as the ultimate *masculine* employment. (Willis 1977; Hollands 1990) The meaning of this for women entering gender-atypical training or employment is that, by doing so, they almost automatically raise doubts about their own sexuality, and also, and in this context equally importantly, they raise doubts about the masculinity of the men in these particular skill areas. Cockburn (1987) observes that young women in manual trades training are encouraged "to look for things that 'girls could do'": in engineering they are encouraged towards wrought-iron work; in carpentry towards wooden toy making: certain aspects of manual trades become, in this way, feminised. This, she points out, takes the women away from direct competition with men.

Note 6 Selected bibliography: class, race and gender in compulsory education.

The following is not an exhaustive bibliography, either in terms of the existing field of literature, or of my reading within it: many other references throughout the main text could also be included. It does however, provide an indication of the study of the wealth of research into this area which underpins the intention to pursue similar analyses with regards to adult vocational training.

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Note 7 Details of UK Government Enterprise Initiatives.

1. Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) - launched 1982.

2. The Mini Enterprise in Schools Project (MESP) - launched 1985.

3. Enterprise in YTS - launched 1986.

4. Training for Enterprise Programme, including the following spin-off initiatives:
   a. Business Enterprise Programme (BEP);
   b. Private Enterprise Programme (PEP);
   c. Management Extension Programme (MEP);
   d. Graduate Gateway Programme (GGP).

5. Enterprise Allowance Scheme (EAS) - introduced in 1983.

6. Enterprise and Education: to increase teachers'/pupils' experience of industry.

7. Enterprise in Higher Education (EHE) - introduced December 1987.

8. Enterprise Awareness in Teacher Education (EATE) - launched September 1989.

9. Evangelical Enterprise.

10. Local Enterprise Agencies - of which there were over 400.

11. The Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) - launched March 1989.

12. Scottish Enterprise (SE);
    Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE).

Source: Coffield (1991) p250-255.

Note 8 The construction of knowledge: feminism and Foucault.

The construction of knowledge has been a focus of concern within Marxism, feminism (radical, socialist and Marxist), and postmodernism. This Note looks at the relevance of Michel Foucault's work in this area upon similar concerns within feminist thought. Foucault's concepts of normalization, power, discourse and power-knowledge are the ones which relate most closely to the feminist concern with the construction of knowledge.

Firstly, normalization. Normalization is basically the

> "idea of judgement based on what is normal and thus on what is abnormal." (Ball 1990 p2)

The normalizing 'knowledges and practices' include medicine, education, psychology, sexuality and punishment. (Diamond & Quinby 1988; Ball 1990) Foucault was interested in the way in which ideas, originating at a particular time of historical change, become 'normative and universal'. (Ball 1990) Through the process of normalization people are classified, and importantly, the "truth about them is 'revealed' to themselves", and in this way "modern power produces governable individuals". (Marshall 1990 p26)

Within this understanding of the historical construction of normalization, feminists can point in particular to concepts of gender and sexuality. These ensure that the vast majority of women, across time and space and irrespective of race or class, construct themselves through femininity and heterosexuality as 'normal' women. Foucault names a powerful aspect of this process as being that it happens with the person, in this case the woman, hardly being aware of it. The power of the process is such that to question, to deny the given 'truth' of ourselves - for instance, the constructs of femininity and heterosexuality, is to move ourselves from normal to abnormal and to be judged accordingly. Such questioning or denial is often an individual affair. It can also be the result of a collective questioning - such as that of the feminist 'consciousness raising' groups of the late 1970s/early 1980s. Either way such

questioning or denial represents a 'minority' position against the normalization construct: a move from 'normal' to 'abnormal' resulting in judgements which are an integral and powerful aspect of the ongoing normalization process.

Although superficially it may seem as though Foucault's concept of normalization is basically the same as the early-feminist concern with sex-role stereotyping, it is in fact a far deeper concept: for the concept of normalization includes firstly the understanding of the historical construct, and secondly, the notion of the *power* of conformity/normality and the judgment levied against non-conformity/abnormality. This linkage of normalization with the concept of power is a central feature of Foucault's work in this area.[1]

This leads to the consideration of the second of the concepts listed above, that of power. According to Foucault, power is not something which resides only and always in a centre, it is also localized and can be present in many different situations - not only in the public domain but also in social situations. (see also Harvey 1989 and Gunew 1990) Foucault believed that localized power "cannot be understood by appeal to some overarching general theory." (Harvey 1989 p45) Power can be resisted locally, at all the varying sites in which it is reproduced. This localization of power, and hence of resistance, has relevance for feminism for it relates to the personal experience of oppression, the everyday, that has been expressed in the slogan: the personal is political. It means that

> "we suspend our commitment to our universal, explanatory categories at least long enough to get at the operations of power at their most material and concrete." (Martin 1988 p5)

This understanding could be seen to provide an academic way out of the impasse caused by the western feminist concern with the meta-narratives of capitalism and patriarchy, the struggle over 'prime

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[1] Reference to the specific construct of heterosexuality can be found in Foucault 1985.

oppression' or even that of 'intersections of oppression'.[2] This concentration on the individual or localized response represents much of the initial attractiveness of postmodernism which has been discussed in the main text of Chapter 3, p97/102. However, local resistance has long been the only action available to the 'powerless', who, with no or little theoretical understanding of, for instance, feminism or Marxism, perceive the reality of their local situation, and resist it. Yet, as Hartsock (1990) points out, these localized actions of resistance do not effectively challenge the *overall* oppression: that is the structures and process which remain intact. This concept of localization of power is central to the later appended analysis of the gender, class and race findings of the research project's case study. A full account of the analysis and applied critique of this concept can be found in Note 33.

Foucault's relevance for feminism is seen primarily through these concepts of normalization and localization of power. Widening out from the existing feminist analysis of male oppression, Foucault's work can lead to a greater understanding of the concept of power itself, and of a localized means of resistance. Martin (1988) believes that his work does

> "... not negate the possibility of concrete political struggle and resistance. It ... insist that we understand and take account of the ways in which we are implicated in power relations and the fact that we are never outside of power." (Martin 1988 p13)

However, Foucault's work on the localization of power impinges on the materialist feminist theoretical focus on the overarching patriarchal and capitalist systems of power and their structural manifestations. (already criticised by, amongst others, Stanley & Wise 1983) Foucault's concept has aided the understanding that 'men' oppress 'women' - the power of men over women is localized as well as generalized through the patriarchal system. Power, localized, can be resisted: from being "portrayed as the passive

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[2] This feminist concern is considered in the main text. Key texts include: Phillips 1987; Segal 1987; Barrett 1987; Hartmann 1981; Harding 1986; Ehrlich 1981.

victims of a mechanistic and deterministic system" under complete control, it is increasingly admitted that women have the "possibility of struggle, resistance and active defiance." (Maynard 1990 p274) However, this understanding of localized male oppression has long been part of the radical and lesbian feminist analysis - especially through the theories of rape and male violence towards women.[3] 'Oppression' only rarely makes women totally powerless and,

> "ordinarily, women utilise a range of resources - verbal, interactional and other - in order to 'fight back'". (Stanley & Wise 1990 p22)

Feminists must then be wary of simply applying a Foucauldian analysis to 'women': of being either subsumed within, or seduced by, Foucault. (Morris 1988; Martin 1988) This concern over 'external' validation of feminist thought is expressed in Chapter 3, p98.

The third of the concepts concentrated on in this Note is that of Foucault's concern with the way in which discourses and practices transform people into subjects of a particular kind. (Marshall 1990; Martin 1988) The subject has a dual role: it is someone who is tied to someone else by control and dependence, and at the same time, someone who is also tied to their own identity through their own self-knowledge. (Marshall 1990) The subject is both an object of knowledge, and a subject that knows. (Foucault 1970) The relevance of this concept of the subject for the development of feminist epistemology and research methodology is considered throughout the main text of Chapter 3.

Importantly, Foucault points to the fact that discourses not only constitute subjectivity, but *power relations* also. They

> "are constituted by exclusions as well as inclusions, by what cannot as well as what can be said..." (Ball 1990 p2)

In resistance to the dominant discourse are the 'reverse-discourses' of marginalized groups, such as those of feminists or homosexuals.

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[3] See for instance the early works of Brownmiller (1975), and Griffin (1979).

Such 'reverse discourses', despite being a clear site of resistance, have only a precarious power. (Diamond & Quinby 1988) Coming from 'marginalized groups', such discourses are automatically also marginalized, for instance that of feminist epistemologies. (Irigaray 1985; Martin 1988; Gunew 1990) This marginalization relates not only to the final text, but also to the process of the discourse. For instance,

> "the 'feminine' is always described in terms of deficiency or atrophy, as the other side of the sex that alone hold a monopoly on value: the male sex." (Irigaray 1985 p69)

Reverse-discourse represents the second central concept in the analysis of the gender, class and race findings of the case study to be found in Note 33.

The fourth and final concept of Foucault to be outlined in this Note is that of *power-knowledge*. The search for knowledge is linked by Foucault with the search for science or truth. Gunew (1990) describes how the construction of knowledge has meant that women, along with those from the 'wrong' class, race or religion, have been excluded from this search. The resulting apparent objectivity was believed universal. Foucault concentrated on the way in which knowledge is produced and constituted at particular localized sites - medical, educational, military, penitential institutions and the work-place - but, conspicuously, not the home. (Martin 1988; Harvey 1989; Marshall 1990) Through the discourses and practices of such institutions, people's behaviour, attitudes and self-knowledge become changed; those changes become 'legitimized'; and furthermore, at the same time, the knowledge which 'changed' that behaviour is itself judged 'true'. Knowledge is developed through the exercise of power; knowledge is used to legitimize and increase that power; this legitimizing use of knowledge Foucault terms 'power-knowledge'. It is both a construct of, as well as a component part of, power-relations: two sides of the same process. (Martin 1988; Ball 1990; Marshall 1990) Such power, localized, can be resisted locally, at any point in time, without the need for an

overarching world view. (Martin 1988; Marshall 1990) The importance of Foucault's work on power-knowledge, for this study, lie in its relevance to the consideration of feminist epistemology, developed through the main text of Chapter 3.

> "The real political task in a society such as ours is to criticise the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent." (Ball 1990 p7; quoting Foucault 1974 p171)

The concepts of normalization, discourse and power-knowledge, cloaked in apparent objectivity and universality, are the tools of power manifesting and reproducing themselves at localized sites and through the everyday institutions deemed neutral and independent. And, according to Foucault, it is at these localized sites and institutions where resistance is to take place. These concepts centering on localized power and resistance, appear to be the basis of the attraction which Foucault holds for some feminists. However, the extent to which such resistance is possible without overarching framework of theories is considered throughout the main text of Chapter 3.

Note 9 The interview schedule.

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.

****** CONFIDENTIALITY ******

Self and other workers.

1. Describe your job.
   - how long have you worked for the training project and what is/was your job ?
   [- why did you leave]

2. Describe yourself:
   - class, age, race, sexual preference, disability, parenthood etc.
   - political background/activism.
   How much of this do you bring to your work ?

3. Why do you think you got your job ?

4. What do/did you want to get out of (achieve) from the job ?
   - for yourself; - the trainees; - the project ?
   - how much of your opinion of this do you think you share with the other workers ?
   - any surprises ?

5. What do/did you actually achieve ?
   - for yourself; - the trainees; - the project ?
   - how much of your opinion of this do you think you share with the other workers ?
   - any surprises ?

6. What haven't you/don't you achieve ?
   - for yourself; - the trainees; - the project ?
   - how much of your opinion of this do you think you share with the other workers ?
   - any surprises ?

7. Do you now consider your aspirations to be/have been realistic or not ?

The trainees.

8. What do you think the trainees want out of the scheme ?

9. What do you think the trainees actually get out of the scheme ?
   - any surprises ?

10. What do you think the trainees don't get out of it, or achieve from it ?
    - any surprises ?

11. Do you think their aspirations are realistic or not ?

The funders.

12. What do you think the funders want from the scheme ?
    - ESF; Local Authority.

13. The local authority.
    - have their aspirations/wants changed at all with the change to mainstream funding ?
    - in what ways ? - why ?

14. What do you think the funders actually get/achieve from it ?
    - ESF; Local Authority.
    - surprises ?

15. Do you think their aspirations are realistic or not ?
    - ESF; Local Authority.

16. Working structure.
    - is there a hierarchy amongst the workers ?
    - if so, describe it.
      (check race, class, education, job specification)

Methods.

17 Autonomy.
    - how much does/did the training project (as different from the funders) have autonomy for the actual training ?
    - how much autonomy is there for individual workers or instructors ?

18. Training decisions.
    - how were the training methods decided ?
    - have they changed or developed over the years ?
    - if so, how ? why ?

19. What do you think is the most important thing you do/did as a worker on the project ?
    - why ?

20. What do you think is the most important thing about the training project ?
    - why ?

21. Decisions regarding teaching/training methods.
    - to what extent are the methods of achieving 'success' determined by: - the funders ? - the workers ?

22. Changes in teaching/training methods.
    - do you think the methods of achieving 'success' have changed with the change of :
      - funders ? - coordinators ? - other workers ?
      - different intakes of trainees ?

23. Own teaching/training methods.
- have your own methods for achieving 'success' changed
- if so, in what ways ? - why ?

Management.

24. The other workers.
- briefly describe the other workers, as a group:
    - class, race, age, sexual preference, disability, parenthood etc.
    - political background/activism.
- how much of this do you think they bring to their work

25. Day-to-day management.
- tell me about the way in which the day-to-day management of the scheme happens.
    - who decides what ?
    - how is it carried out ?
    - line-management structure or collective working ?
    - who has financial responsibility ?

26. Management changes.
- which has had the most effect on the project ?
    - change of funding ? - change of coordinator ?

27. Structures of support.
- what structures of support exist for you as a worker ?
- what support do you actually get -
    - from management ? - coordinator ?
    - co-workers ? - trainees ? - outside work ?

Personal problematics and dreams.

28. Working day.
- could you describe for me a typical working day, from getting up in the morning, leaving for work, being at work, until returning home in the evening ?
- is there anything you consider important about your working life which shows something of what it is like for you to be a worker on the project ?

29. The dream.
- if you had a free hand and budget, what changes would you make to the training scheme for unemployed women ?

30. Is there anything else which we've not covered but which you would like to talk about ?
- is there anything you would like to add to what you have said, or take away, or change ?
- if you do think of anything later, please let me know.

Thank you.

Note 10 Inductive coding analysis for case study.

1. Research Method.

2. The workers:

a. Political and personal details:
- race; class; sexuality;
- job position: length of employment;
- political identity;
- extra.

b. What they wanted to achieve:
- for themselves:
  - integration work/politics;
  - work with women;
  - political/social change;
- for the trainees:
  - own perception of self;
  - a 'positive' environment;
  - manual skills:

: for workers to pass on own hard-earned knowledge;
to reduce isolation of women workers in the trade;
critical of manual skills;
manual skills as a motivator for wider changes;
to gain jobs and economic independence.

3. The funders' intentions:

a. Identify Local Authority motives:
- the 'lure' of ESF money:
  - the 'building';
  - equal opportunities:
    - women in manual trades;
- role of individual councillors:
  - lack of consultation;
  - initial appointments;
  - LA 'officers';
- political 'kudos'/image etc.:
  - negative image;
  - women's projects:
    - 'containment'.
- post ESF funding;

b. The ESF:
- disinterest in results:
  - monitoring.

c. The workers' increased cynicism:
- skills offered (manual skills):
  - ESF new technology;
- question: 'inbuilt' failure:
  - lack of support.

4. The needs of the trainees.

a. Immediate:
- opportunism;
  - 'stepping stone';
- childcare;

- (-)loneliness/(+)friends;
- need for respect - self-respect and from others.

b. Future:
- paid employment;
- achievement.

c. Trainees needs and manual skills.

5. The workers within the funding structure.

a. autonomy from the local authority:
- lack of LA interest:
  - concern with budget;
- role of the coordinator:
- definition of trainee target group;
- workers' aim of 'empowerment'.

b. autonomy in teaching methods:
- manual skill training:
  - autonomy of instructors;
  - skills of instructors;
  - contrast with FE and male instructors;
  - the future.
- women's studies:
  - workers' decision/budget restraints;
  - political 'empowerment';
  - broad range of subjects;
  - controversial 'issues'. **

6. Management.

a. The Local Authority:
- appointments;
- hierarchical collectivity:
  - management committee;
  - the coordinator;
- conflicts between workers:
  - racism;
- the second coordinator.

b. Change in funding and in coordinators:
- the coordinators;
- change in funding;
- line management
- worker support.

7. The 'Issues'. **

a. The role of the LA:
- appointments;
- trainee selection.

b. Class:
- extent of shared politics;
- intersections with race and sexuality.

c. Race:
- external:
  - + homophobia;
- internal:
  - white women's 'surprise';
  - pain.

d. Sexuality:
- terms of abuse;
- acceptance of sexuality and self;
- personal experience:
    - homophobia;
- + race and class.

e. Power struggles:
- role of management;
- black 'take-over';
- role of coordinator.

f. Male violence.

8. Achievements:

a. Immediate:
- individual:
- trainees;
- workers;
- failure.

b. Future:
- manual skills;
- qualitative success;
- quantitative success;
    - jobs;
    - education;
    - 'knock-on' effect;
- funders.

9. The 'Dream'.

a. Workers:
- internal working structure;
- appointments;
- decision making structure.

b. Trainees:
- immediate needs;
- future needs/aims of scheme:
    - initial research;
    - trainees;
    - broader aims;
    - skill provision.

: improving manual-skills provision;
: changing provision:
- foundation course;
- expansion into traditional skills.

Note 11 **Documentary sources - ESF.**

Indexes and Databases:

European Access : bimonthly index.
Elise - database: local employment initiatives.
Euristote - database: academic research on European integration - primarily bibliographic.
Iris directory - database.
SCAD - database - legislation and documents - bibliographical.

ESF legislation:

Official Journals (L and C).
Initiatives.
COM documents.
Directives.
Decisions.

EC interpretation of ESF legislation:
- recommendations, guidelines, action programmes;

European Files.
Background Reports.
The week in Europe - information bulletin.
European Report.

Other EC publications:
- concerning ESF, vocational training, equal opportunities.

Social Europe.
Women of Europe.
Supplements to Women of Europe.
CEDEFOP - Flash Special; News; Annual Reports.
Education and Training.
EC Reports.
CREW Reports.

UK documents relating to the ESF:

Department of Employment ESF Unit.
House of Commons Employment Committee.
House of Lords Select Committee on the European Communities.
DTI - Single European Market.

Note 12 Letter from the NOW co-ordinator, DG V, the EC.

COMMISSION
OF THE EUROPEAN
COMMUNITIES

Brussels, 3 .12. 1992
ADG/am/PIC1723

DIRECTORATE-GENERAL
Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs
V/D/1 Community Initiatives "Human Resources"

N O W

Re: your study on the use of the European Social Fund for the vocational training of unemployed women within Nottinghamshire

Dear Ms Brine,

Your letter addressed to M. P. Hatt has been forwarded to us and we would like to apologize for the delay in answering your request, due to an overload of work and the moving of our services in another building.

The ESF policy has changed in 1989, swifting from a "project policy" to a "programme policy", which means that the Commission does no longer have any specific information on the projects. Operational programmes are negociated between the Commission and each Member state, which define the priority axes of the training and employment policy on a pluri-annual basis. Member states select the actions to be implemented on the basis of these programmes.

All information on the applications for vocational training of unemployed women in each Member state is thus to be asked from the Ministry of Labour in the Member states. We send you enclosed the list of ESF correspondants in the Ministry of Labour in all Member states.

In order to find such a precise information on the womens' participation, you will have to get in touch with those directly responsible for the projects. It appears, from an evaluation study being made on the participation of women in the ESF actions in 1990 that, in most Member states, these figures are available only at this level.

Yours sincerely,

C. Alexopoulou,
NOW Coordinator

Note 13 Documentary sources - EC and UK labour markets.

Indexes and databases:

Guide to official statistics.
ABI Inform - database: business information.
SCAD - database: European, bibliographical.

United Kingdom publications:

Department of Employment:
- Labour Market Quarterly Reports;
- New Earnings Survey;
- Employment Gazette.

General Household Survey.
National Economic Development Council.
National Institute Economic Review.
Social Trends.
Economic Trends - annual supplements.
House of Commons Employment Committee Reports.
DTI : Single European Market.

European Community publications:

EC Employment statistics.
Employment and Europe.
Education and Vocational Training.
Social Europe.
Women of Europe.
Supplements to Women of Europe.
EC Reports.
CREW Reports.

Other publications:

OECD - Economic Outlook.
European Economy.
International Labour Office.
CBI News.
CBI Quarterly Industrial Trends Survey.
Trade Union reports.

Note 14 Workers' class and educational background.

"I'm a white well-educated woman from a middle-class family ... but I feel that my life-style is more one of a lesbian feminist. ... Virtually the only middle-class women at the training scheme are workers, and only a minority of workers. ... The situation for the trainees is really quite extreme for most of them in terms of difficulties - they're not just working-class they're deprived working-class. ... And I think education is a big part of it. And the fact that I'm from a middle-class family and well educated sets me apart, probably more in many ways than being lesbian." (V)

"I did struggle - it did take me 14 years of night school to get any resemblance of academic achievement - I'm still doing it, and I won't stop until I've achieved what I want to achieve. So I do understand the trainees." (Y)

"There but for the stroke of luck went I. ... And I expect that what I've got seems inaccessible to some of the trainees. Mother was always dead keen that my sister and I got an education and that neither of us would be dependent on any man - and that sunk in." (U)

Note 15 **The workers' political identification statements.**

"I'm white, able-bodied, feminist politics, working in non-traditional skill areas, and I'm a lesbian feminist. Active within the feminist movement. I bring all of it to my job." (Z)

"Political activity - hard to define - very politically active, but half the time not aware of it. ... In the early seventies, I had a little flirtation with the womens movement - but I just felt alienated, dismissed, made to feel quite ignorant, I hadn't read the books, I didn't know the names. I was coming in because I was really very interested in Women's Aid partly because of what I'd seen with my parents, and with my extended family, and, you know, you see women on the street, and they look so bloody miserable, hauling three or four children around. Right, they might not be battered black and blue, but they look washed out, they look worn - that's why, that's why I was coming in." (U)

"Women for peace. And also, because of my professional involvement, ... issues that focused around race, anti-racism, child poverty, general worker rights, generally socialist stuff. Yeah, bring a lot of this to my work. Because I think the training scheme was set up on ideological grounds really, and I'm not sure it was well thought through enough before we did that, but for the staff group in the beginning it was like being paid to be a political change agent ! And that's how I saw myself - a political change agent." (Y)

"I spent years going to meetings. Years. 'Good' meetings ! Years ago I made that decision not to do anything voluntarily that could be funded. I started with working in the Refuge, just a bit, peace groups, Greenham.
Would you describe yourself then as 'politically active' ?
Not now. Would've liked to have thought I was. But not now. Not interested now. I got very tired, exhausted, I got no energy for myself, for my own life. I think as a lesbian it takes all your energy and strength to survive - and I am into surviving long-term." (W)

"Feminist for many years, socialist as well. Quite politically serious. At times in my life, active, although I'm not particularly now. Period in the labour party; period in peace movement; period in women against violence. .... My work has kind of taken the place of it, in terms of doing things. ... My politics are a general indicator of how I should live. My work fits in with that. I wouldn't be happy doing a job which I didn't feel was putting my ideas into practice - and those are quite political ideas." (V)

"I'd describe myself as radical lesbian feminist. ... Women's Aid; Rape Crisis; Women for Peace; various single issue things: Clause 28. More recently, in last three or four years, I've done less with political groups and more towards my own training - I really have had to devote a lot of time and energy just to getting the skills that I need. The only group I'm involved with regularly now is the Incest Survivors Group." (X)

Note 16 Political aims of the educational process.

"What makes it different (because of being feminist), is I'm raising their consciousness, I'm trying to give them a different awareness of their life and their living situations. I suppose I'm trying to educate them about what choices they might have about the way they live their lives, about the effect of things all around them, about things they've accepted, well, since they were born, that they've just accepted without question. I've asked them to question them. .... It's very slow. You know its a very slow process. I'm not talking about going and spouting feminist rhetoric at them from day one. I'm talking about being with them constantly, day in and day out, and being able to pick up on things that have happened about their own lives and maybe talk about it in a way, encourage them to think about it in a way they've never thought about it before. Whether at the end of the day it makes any difference, I don't know." (X)

"Aims and objectives: not clearly stated anywhere.
Assumptions:
1. to help women to gain confidence by recognising their skills and strengths.
2. to help women to start thinking about study/ learning skills: note-taking, memorizing, reading, asking questions, learning through the group, what is discussion.
3. to help women to examine past learning experiences, eg school and, if necessary, develop new attitudes about learning, and their own potential to learn. Diffusing myths about intelligence.
4. introducing some ideas about women's role in society and relating this, in particular, to employment issues.
5. introducing and exploring concepts of racism and sexism.
(unpublished document: 'Personal and Study Skills Days' - later Women's Studies - "a rushed personal review" by the first co-ordinator; June 1985)

"We were opening the door to politicization, because of our feelings; because of where we were at; we the workers made a conscious decision to do that. We didn't send (the LA) a syllabus, an agenda for the Women's Studies because we didn't want them to know in case they stopped it, and we thought it was fundamentally important that that happened." (Y)

Is there anything else you would like to add ?
"Well perhaps on the women's studies - it's important it stays in. There're lots of problems with racism and lesbianism within that - trainees and staff find that hard to deal with. But we can't seem to work out any other method of getting that sort of stuff in. It's usually taught by the outreach workers, training development workers, and outside speakers as they come up. It's difficult for women to talk about themselves, especially to talk about the issues we want them to talk about. They see the training scheme as giving them a skill in non-traditional areas rather than in raising their consciousness about women's issues. Some of them enjoy it but they find it very difficult to cope with - all of them, no matter who they are. Some issues they're alright with, but other issues they find very difficult. It's important to keep it because it does raise their consciousness no matter how much they fight it, no matter how much they feel threatened by it, it does raise their consciousness, and they need that to go out into the likes of the world and fight. What are they going to do when they come across sexism and racism and homophobia, out there, or maybe they'd be ignorant and not realize it's happening to them, maybe then they'd get along better, but, eventually, they'll need to know how to deal with it. Although I don't think we do it all that effectively - I think it's a bit hit and miss - at times it could be better, but we just really don't know how. I don't think we've got the skilled workers to deal with it, to teach it in a way that we could - we need skilled women in teaching those specialist subjects - especially lesbian and race issues. After the women's studies, the trainees carry on talking about it - and it's left to the instructors to deal with the aftermath of women's studies. Sometimes this results in good discussions and sometimes it's really very difficult." (Z)

Note 17 **Workers' 'dreams' for non-traditional manual skills training provision.**

"I would set up a *training site*. .... Buy something that was derelict and then strip it from top to bottom and then start all over again - I'd use it to integrate all of the skills, all of the construction skills, you know, trades, so you got bricklayers going in, you've got joiners, plasterers, electricians, painters and decorators, and then start - yeah I'd do that. ... And then I'd sell that off and then start again. That would be the dream. In reality I think you might end up with the same house and striping it down and starting again every time.
Soul destroying ?
It is soul destroying - but certainly better than what we've got. I was thinking about the standard of the work actually and whether or not you'd find someone to buy it after thirty-odd women had been working - but if there was enough supervision. There'd have to be a very high ratio of skilled to non-skilled workers. Experienced in the trade. And certainly no more than two to one, and actually working alongside, so you'd have a team of skilled workers going in. Take a derelict house,... each of them with two trainees, who maybe have already done a short foundation course, in the workshops, so they've got some tool-skills, and no time-limits, no economic pressures, so start from that, just rip everything out and start again. The things that women would learn from that, from seeing a house being striped, and the management of it. You see, they never ever get a sense of how trades relate to each other - a real apprenticeship and not pissing around at it. You'll get less women interested in doing it." (X)

"We could be the 'Women's College'. Then we'd add things - associated subjects like maths, physics, technical drawing, metal work. So women could get a GCSE in that subject rather than a whole trade area. But yes it would all be in that non-traditional skill areas where women have supposedly not done well in those areas at school." (Z)

Note 18 **Composite profile of the trainees.**

The ESF policy stipulated that trainees had to be *unemployed* in order to qualify for a place.

The trainees were *white and black working-class.*
'Black' refers to women of African or Caribbean origins or descent'.
Up until the time of the case study there had been no Asian women trainees on the project.

The trainees had all *left school at 16.*

The trainees had not been academically successful at school: most had no qualifications at all; a few had one or two CSEs.

The ESF policy stipulated that trainees were to be *aged over 25*, and most of the trainees were *aged between 30 and 45.*

Some trainees had children, some did not.

Some trainees were lesbian, some heterosexual.

Women with disabilities were under-represented on the project - possibly due to the nature of the training.

Note 19 Workers' perceptions of the trainees' short-term needs.

'Opportunism'.

"When you've sat in a council house for five years with three kids, and suddenly you can get out and meet other women, and get £4 a week - I know it in't very much, but you don't even have to tell the Social - you get your bus fares paid and your kids looked after. Come on, I mean that's as good a reason as any." (Y)

"Some women come on to it simply because there's not much else like this around. Definitely. It's an opening for women to go, and so they go into it, regardless of what it's offering." (Z)

Loneliness, isolation and respect.

"I think of the trainees who came, the biggest majority of them came because they wanted the social contact with other women, and they wanted somewhere where they could get childcare paid for, and drop their kids off." (X)

"A lot of them come on because they're bored or because they want company. Some of them come on because they want to prove something, they want to show someone that they can do something." (U)

"They want their kids to respect them, that's another big one, because they're sort of common and scum and not rated by anybody." (V)

Note 20 **Workers' perceptions of the trainees' long-term aspirations: employment.**

"Some women came onto the scheme full of the same sort of enthusiasm as I was describing about the workforce, and they definitely perceived it as an opportunity to do some real training and to come out of it with some status, and long term job prospects." (Y)

"They want something totally unrealistic I think - like 'oh, I can get qualified and earn a living very quickly. I'm going to earn a lot of money in the trades.'" (W)

"A job. A job is the main thing in their mind. Lots of money and a job. And somebody to look after the kids. I think they're quite naive about what to expect." (Z)

Note 21 **Achievements regarding trainees' immediate emotional needs.**

"It's provided somewhere for women to go, it's provided that sort of social outlet, it's provided somewhere for women to take time out and think, get together with other women and talk about things they've maybe never talked about before - that whole process of raising consciousness - that's happened on one level - although for some more than others." (X)

"Belief in women together challenging the racism, anti-lesbianism, can challenge the politics of power, despite not being gifted in an academic sense. ... They actually had, for the first time in their life, the opportunity to express their own ideas and weren't dismissed, and weren't diminished by other women around them..... And they didn't have to perform with the other women, they didn't have to be a sexual being, not even with the lesbians." (Y)

"It would be naive of me to say it's a safe space, it's not. For some though it gives a chance to take the lid off experiences that have been buried deep, or perhaps they have somehow begun to look at them anyway but I think it takes the lid off and I think that's, that's very painful. They don't expect that when they come. They didn't know that that's part of the package. I think that happens because it's all women, you haven't got the constraints of being with men, you haven't got the same set of rules, you can have a good go at the women next to you - you wouldn't dare, you wouldn't think, although perhaps some would, to say these things to men, or certainly you wouldn't take them to where the real problems are." (W)

"And suddenly within the space of just a knock-about introduction, women were suddenly, suddenly ventilating stuff that was of a deeply personal nature, about the way they hated men, about the way they'd been abused. And I just sat there. Fourteen women who didn't know anyone from Eve, when they sat in that room, and I just facilitated a bit of introductions, a bit of getting the confidence of people, and suddenly it was men this, or my husband does that, ... it just happened, and suddenly you've got people saying 'you didn't ought to have to stand for that', 'I wouldn't stand for that, would you', - and I just saw these women on the first morning, just go boomf, and then at lunch time they were saying 'oh, in't this great, in't this wonderful', and we got them then you see ... you've got them in the sense that suddenly they realize that this is possible, and that's the thing about the training scheme that I never ever lost, seeing a group of trainees where I knew this is possible for them, and making it work." (Y)

Note 22 **The confidence-gained by the trainees.**

"It makes them realize they've got something in them, that they can do things, that they can achieve something in life, that they're not just sitting at home, bored, with kids all day. .... I think they develop their confidence: they certainly develop their confidence, they get out of the house, they're developing skills they didn't think they had so it's raising their consciousness about their selves, what they can and can't do, or rather what they can do. And to make them feel good about themselves." (Z)

"Some of them have ended up with more confidence than they had when they first came; some of them ended up with even less - through trying something and failing. Because a lot of them have been in the process of testing things out that they've not tested out before - not just in terms of their own physical abilities or skills or intellectual abilities, but in terms of their own lives and lifestyles - and you know testing things out, testing boundaries at home and within relationships and networks, and in their own villages and things. And for some of them that's been good, but for others it's just been disastrous. Because they've done nothing, all they've ended up with you know, is a good hiding, and an even tighter chain." (X)

"A lot of the women who came onto the training scheme were used to rejection, and in some senses I don't think we ever addressed how they may have felt at the end of the course because it's very much like a rejection. .... It's like if you've been denied something for so long and then suddenly - just take for example a child who's never had a sweet .. or a cake, and then suddenly you get a cake everyday for three months, right, and then they say well make do with a sweetie. And then they say well you're having nothing at all again. You might have the odd occasional cake that you buy yourself but it never tastes quite the same - and sometimes you just don't get any more." (Y)

Note 23 Data relating to employment, FE training and drop-out: 1990/91.

	beg. of period 1990	end of period 1991			
		continuing training	unaccounted (drop-out)	related jobs	trade app'ships
Foundation course at training centre.	56	20	34	2	0
Supported 'follow-on' training at FE college.	47	27	14	3	3
Total	103	47	48 *	5	3

* This 'drop-out' figure is a deflated figure due to lack of information regarding the drop-out from previous Foundation course, or from earlier cohorts of trainees at FE college.

This information was included in the project's 1991 Annual Report. Bibliographical details are not provided, for to do so would compromise confidentiality.

Note 24 Employment and non-traditional manual skills training.

"I thought it would be more about women taking up manual jobs really - more about that than it is." (V)

"(the trainees) actually felt they were doing this training and they would see mammoth developments at the end - and its unrealistic isn't it to be an electronic engineer after a year on a training scheme." (Y)

"In actual fact we did a lot of women an ill-service there, we built them up to sort of say you come in, you've never driven a vehicle in your life before, you're 46 years old, you want to be a bus driver, right, we'll make you a bus driver. And of course, we don't. All we're doing is shattering the bit of confidence that she had." (U)

"One of them wants to work predominately with lead, with fancy glass work, making stained glass windows and art-deco lights and things - she's not very interested in being a plumber." (X)

Note 25 Workers' perceptions of funders' intentions: 'equal opportunities' policy and non-traditional skills.

"It was something to do with the fact that they got a commitment to equal opportunity and the workforce where there wasn't adequate representation of women in those areas." (U)

"The funding was made available because somebody pointed out that there was a discrepancy in employment patterns throughout Europe ... Somewhere or another they registered 'unfair' and so they set aside some money to put it right and whoever it was who produced some kind of blueprint, got it. But I don't think they (the ESF) were very careful about who they gave money to." (V)

"I went into the scheme thinking that they (the LA) had actually seen that equal opportunities could work, and they actually recognised the negativity about equal opportunities and were going to do something positive about it." (Y)

"Some (councillors) want to show that they're doing something for equal opportunities, and they're doing something for working-class women. .... I would guess that they wanted an opportunity for working-class women, wanted some small slice of the cake." (W)

"That is their aim (the LA and the ESF), to get women into jobs in non-traditional skill areas. ... The local authority can say this is their equal opportunities policy in operation and can then deflect any criticism of themselves." (Z)

Note 26 Explanatory letter from DE to LA.

DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT

Caxton House Tothill Street London SW1H 9NF

Telephone Direct Line 01-213 4305
Switchboard 01-213 3000 Telex 915564

1 July 1983

EUROPEAN SOCIAL FUND

1 The European Social Fund is essentially concerned with employment and training, and operates by giving financial support in the form of grants to training schemes which meet specified conditions. It does not, as its name might suggest, cover the whole field of social policy. The Fund was set up when the European Economic Community was established in 1957. It was realised that the future economic development of the Community would create a need for assistance with the training and resettling of workers moving from one occupation or one area to another. The Fund was set up to help meet this need. Since then the Fund has expanded greatly in size and scope, making grants of about £860 million in 1982, including £258 million to schemes in the United Kingdom. But its purpose remains the same; in the words of the Treaty of Rome it is:-

> 'to improve the employment opportunities for workers in the Common Market and to contribute thereby to raising the standard of living .....(by) rendering the employ ment of workers easier and ..... increasing their geographical and occupational mobility'.

2 The European Social Fund has been reviewed recently and it is expected that the new regulations will be introduced for the next round of applications: that is applications for schemes starting in 1984. Further information about the revised Fund is contained in the attached paper.

3 The European Social Fund is heavily oversubscribed and funding is by no means guaranteed for eligible schemes. The European Commission currently filters eligible schemes through a system of guidelines which results in the priority-ranking of applications.

4 The ESF will grant-aid schemes run by a public body to a maximum of 50% of eligible costs in England, Scotland and Wales (55% in Northern Ireland). An ESF grant to a voluntary or private body can match but not exceed assistance already committed by a public authority in the Member State. An application to the Fund must relate to a scheme for a group of people; applications by, or in respect of individuals are not accepted. In general, assistance is given for the running costs of schemes. It will not cover capital expenditure, normal educational costs, social security and unemployment insurance benefits, or medical expenses.

5 UK applications to the Fund are channelled through the Department of Employment. The Department provides application forms and advice on the guidelines, and will help with the preparation and completion of applications which need to be prepared in accordance with a required timetable.

6 Applications are processed by European Commission officials who prepare briefs for the Social Fund Advisory Committee (composed of representatives of governments, unions and employers). Final decisions are made by the Commission on the basis of the Committee's recommendations.

Yours sincerely

Note 27 **Workers' perceptions of funders' intentions: renovation of building.**

"I mean the County Council ripped off the EEC. How ? We got a prime site in (this building), right, beautiful site that was only going to increase with money from Europe. I'm never very good at grants for the development of the premises and things like that, but as far as I'm aware a lot of money from Europe was put into the scheme to change the building, to make the building accessible to women, to make it accessible to training. In other words to do up a (building) that was falling down. In effect, what you got was a lot of money from the Social Fund that made a building that was deteriorating, a very beautiful building again. And also, a beautiful building in a prestigious area that was going to be, with the rate of inflation around buildings, a very saleable commodity at the end of the reign of the training scheme. So that one felt, hang on a minute, how much are the county council actually putting in ? When I've got my cynical head on I think they took as much money as they could get from Brussels, they renovated a beautiful piece of architecture, they filled it with nice machines, and basically it didn't cost them a penny because it was increasing all the time. It's a prime site, that's what the finance chairman said: 'don't stick pins in the walls, this is a prime site, this is'. Cynical head will say well what were they doing, they took a lot of money from the EEC, they created something, and how much money have they actually put in. It doesn't really cost them a lot of money at all if you look at it in that sort of way. ... I think at some time we've got to move premises because the prime site's up for sale.
Sold. They've got to move by the 6th December.
Oh right, the prime site's sold. I'm not a mathematician, and one could ask how much has that property increased during the last five years, you know. I mean, in the property market, and values and that, and yes indeed how much has the training scheme cost the county council ?" (Y)

Note 28 **Workers' perceptions of funders' intentions: political kudos.**

"Why did I think they did it ? Because in my opinion, they were going to Europe for money. They wanted to do something which was a big splash and they wanted to be seen to be doing it themselves, so they could get a bit of kudos from it. .... I think they just wanted to say that they had set up this big scheme; that they were going to do their best to provide something for women..... There's a certain amount of kudos in saying that during our term of office we received so many thousands, millions, whatever from Europe, you know. So they wanted that, and it was easy money." (Y)

"The local authority want successes, to see women coming from nowhere, suddenly going somewhere, into qualifications and then a job, so that they can say 'look what we did, we made this happen, we allowed this to happen, aren't we good, vote for us.' I don't think they want anything else." (Z)

"They also expected it to be a short term project, it was advertised as a short term project. And they were disgruntled when it wasn't just going to lie down and die at the end of the two years. ... They did not for one minute expect the scheme to last any length of time, or be successful." (U)

"There's been an awful lot of controversy about the women's training scheme in the black community. A lot of it is to do with homophobia. .... The *perceived* problem if you like. I think that's something which has always been thrown at independent women, as an insult. And I think that our trainees see these questions of sexuality as an insult." (U)

Note 29 **Workers' perceptions of funders' achievements: employment results.**

"They keep saying anyway that we are the most successful women's training scheme - there's not many women's training schemes actually getting jobs and we are getting jobs. And what we are getting - we've had women now who've been in jobs for three or four years, and that's pretty good. And even though there aren't that many of them, we've had a couple go self-employed, and you know, make a living at it ! So, I think they do like to quote that - they're always very keen to have photographs of our women." (U)

"(The training project) hasn't trained any bricklayers. It's not just bricklayers - it hasn't trained any joiners either. Very few of any trades. ... At the end of the day it wasn't doing what I wanted it to do. I wanted to train women and prepare them for work in the manual trades.
And the County Council aren't bothered by that ?
No, they're not. And I don't know why. ... It wouldn't look good if they shut it down." (X)

"After Christmas we started with our seventh intake, and there are like between thirty, thirty-five women that initially sign on with each intake. So we're talking about over 200 women and out of 200 women we've got two or three who are actually working in the trade now. One is working as a plumber, and another is working as a sign-writer, and I think maybe one or two are working as painters and decorators. Some of them go on to do other jobs; a lot of them drop out because they get work - a lot of them work in cleaning jobs in local hospitals and things, so they leave for other jobs. Some of them leave because they just don't like it; some of them leave because when they get up to do their City and Guilds at College it's too difficult for them - they can't cope. A lot of them because of pressures from their family." (X)

"I must have been very naive, the reality was that there wasn't real jobs at the end of it, because we were training women in skills that were already being, not diminished in economic terms, but men trained in those jobs were on the dole !" (Y)

Note 30 Workers' perceptions of funders' achievements: management.

"There was the co-ordinator: white, straight, middle-class. But, and this caused loads and loads of problems, only two white outreach workers were appointed at the time of the inception of the scheme. .... Then within about a couple of months T was appointed: a black politicised woman." (Y)

"Well, they had a coordinator who basically couldn't coordinate; didn't know how to manage, sat around most the time. I don't know how to describe it, it felt like because of some ideas about collectivism and sharing power and things - but what she actually did was refuse any responsibility and she couldn't manage the scheme so nothing happened. .... Certainly, initially, neither the coordinator or the outreach workers had any experience of manual trades, so they didn't know what the fucking hell they were doing, basically. They just pissed about at it. I know that sounds very cynical, but I feel very cynical about what they did. They did a lot of damage." (X)

"There were gaping holes in the management. ....I'd say what we needed was someone strong. And as much as we wanted to get rid of hierarchy, as much as we wanted it to be a collective experience - it never actually did that, because nobody was prepared to loose two or three thousand pounds, you see. ... But at the end of the day, the coordinator got all the shit anyway." (Y)

"The first coordinator tried to run it on a more collective base - but that was very strenuous and and stressful - nobody knew what we were supposed to be doing really." (Z)

"There was an implicit hierarchy, which is just as bad as anything else I think, because its not recognised as such - it hasn't got any accountability. .... There isn't a very good structure in the scheme. It's never been thought out." (C)

The sequence, funding source and salary levels of the first appointments are referred to in the training projects First Year Report:

"There are now eight workers: .... Two of these posts are Section 11 funded. One to allow T to work with Afro-Caribbean women, and an Asian worker's post has recently been approved. .... Although there are three black workers and four white workers, three of our white workers are on substantially higher salaries, whilst the black workers are in the lower paid posts. With the appointment of the Asian outreach workers, at the 'higher paid level' - coordinator and outreach workers - will be less white dominated." (Annual Report 1986 p2;p12) [1]

"People had not thought through their own political ideologies - they only thought they had ... You perhaps got **, right, who physically was a very powerful woman; intellectually, she got some really sound ideas, but emotionally she couldn't deliver in an appropriate fashion - but because of FC's (the first coordinator's) own background, it was total intimidation, so FC used to cave in. ... It was like what we needed was someone not to be afraid to be called a racist; to not be afraid to see people arguing with each other." (Y)

"Our present system is an unsatisfactory hybrid which can only begin to work effectively if *all* workers and teachers are placed on similar salary gradings, and have equal conditions of service." (Training project Annual Report 1986 p13)[1]

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[1] Full bibliographical details are not provided, for to do so would compromise confidentiality.

"There was a big power base I think. I just found it extraordinary that I had something like sixteen workers and I was the only one who was responsible for workers, no other bugger, no matter how much her pay, no one was responsible for other workers, so they can all shout and moan like hell about what you do, but they're not responsible for sorting something out. .... I don't know where that idea came from - having a collective before they appointed - I couldn't have done that. .... Well obviously, I think they'd stopped trying to carry on, I think they'd stopped trying to be a collective by the time the last (coordinator) went. But you see, collectives with management committees have got just as many problems, if not more, because you've got everybody paddling their own canoe; you've got everybody with their power base; you've got everybody with their bloody ignorance. ..... Although perhaps now they don't say so much to me. Now I think the collective thing, I mean .... I think there are things I am definitely, totally, excluded from." (C)

Note 31 **Workers' perception of funders' achievements: changes in funding and coordinator.**

"You can't separate them because they appointed the coordinator to do the job. .. We've got this ongoing backing from the County Council because there's now somebody in charge who can deal with the money side." (V)

"The two can't be divided actually, because I think she got the job because she was seen to be someone who would look at the management side of things, who would look at the finance side of things, and she's had to. I think the scheme would have closed." (U)

"Both really - I think both. In different ways. The money situation seems to be a bit better sorted out now - we never knew - we were always told that we were overbudget or under-budget, it seems to be planned out a bit better now. ..... The new coordinator, how it's differed ? She's had to go more hierarchical; she's been briefed to make it more hierarchical - and she can't do anything different." (Z)

Note 32 **Workers' perceptions of funders' achievements: continued funding.**

"Now we're funded by the County Council. What do they want out of it ? I think they want it to fold. Because it's an embarrassment. It does cost a lot of money. .... I'm worried because the Joint Equal Opportunities Committee, no women councillors will go on it. This building that we're going to, it was available twelve months ago, but they wouldn't let us have it - they said it was too big. You should've seen the building they were offering us instead. It had no outside space at all, and the creche - it hasn't had outside space, and it's got to have it. They seem to think we should be a little 'hole in the corner' operation - and we can't operate like that. This (big) place was going .. for about two-thirds the rental it could've got. Even though the money was available; even though we needed to be out of (the present building); D, (a councillor), he wouldn't let us have it, and for no logical reason at all - simply that it was 'too grand' for women. And there is an awful lot of that, real inbuilt hostility. Nobody, there's no councillors at County Council interested in women.
Not even A, or E anymore ?
Well A's been demoted. She's lost her position as Chair. E is about to retire. The other women coming up - I don't know - my guess is they've seen how much shit is going around, and they just don't want to cop it." (U)

Note 33 Detailed analysis of the training centre: differences and commonalities amongst the women.

The six white interviewees all commented, at some length, on 'the issues': race and sexual preference and class. These intersect the assumed commonality of women: both trainees and workers - and result in constantly shifting positions and struggles for individual and group power.

Although critical of the terms, I use 'black' and 'white' in a way similar to that used by the interviewees themselves, which reflects the common usage within Britain - that is, 'black' refers to people from the Indian sub-continent as well as Africa and those islands of the Caribbean which were colonised by Britain. 'Asian' differentiates simply between people from the Indian subcontinent and people from Africa and the Caribbean. Within this study one 'Asian' woman is referred to: a very late appointed worker. 'Whites' are people of European descent. I believe that the majority, probably all, of the women, 'black' and 'white', referred to in this study are British.

There is no reason to suppose that these issues are in any way unique to the Training Centre focused on in the case study. What becomes evident from the following accounts, however, is the expression of these concerns within a relatively closed community in which existed, certainly among some of the white workers, a 'modernist' assumption of 'sisterhood', an over-riding degree of commonality based on shared gender.[1] There is even a sense of surprise from some of the white workers, on their realization that this is not necessarily so.

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[1] Modernism is generally agreed to have its roots in the revolutions of 1848. The modernists acknowledged difference and fragmentation but believed there was an underlying unifying key which would present the answer - which would empower people to change the world which was also changing them. (Boyne and Rattansi 1990; Harvey 1989) Socialist, Marxist and feminist theory all have their roots in this modernist search for a unifying theory which could promote change, empowerment and a more harmonious and equal order in the world.

This idea of the 'closed community' needs further exploration. Firstly, the training centre provides a 'women only' space: women's struggle for space against the dominance of men is thereby removed. (see for instance Thompson 1983) Women's voices are not often heard: the voices of white working-class and black women even less so. For the trainees the realization that they had a voice: a right to express themselves and to be heard is perhaps one of the main achievements of the project. On a similar vein the Training Centre provided the opportunity for dialogue to take place between the workers - for the black women to express themselves to white women who had no choice but to listen; for lesbians to be open about their sexuality; and for the poverty and struggle of working-class women, (black and white), to be seen as life-defining and confining. Here in the Training Centre, women who generally, although to differing degrees, do not have a voice in the wider (white, male, heterosexually dominated) society, seem to shout at each other and jostle and push for new power positions and balances - individual and group based.

Secondly, this 'closed community' can be seen to represent a 'site of localized power'. (Foucault 1980a, 1980b) Foucault's concept of localized power is useful in understanding that power is not just something big, institutionalized, out there, but localized, manifesting itself between various groups of people, and between individuals: men and men; men and women; and equally importantly women and women. (Foucault 1980b; Diamond and Quinby 1988; Martin 1988) The power between white women and black women, between lesbian and heterosexual, between able-bodied and disabled et cetera can be individually fought out.

> "It became one of the most painful working experiences of my life. ... Tied up with staff interactions, racism issues, classist issues, lesbian issues. If you like, what we tried to do in that building, we tried to tackle all the problems what are in the macrocosm in a microcosm - what we created was a vacuum where the staff group nearly blew up, really, in an emotional sense." (Y)

The Training Centre, as a site where power became localized, became also the site where resistance took place. For instance, it was therefore possible for black workers to try and take the power of the training scheme from individual white women for each white woman represented a far more achievable target than the white male power structures of the funders themselves. Individuals, or small groups of women, came to represent, at this localized level, a specific oppression such as racism or homophobia, and as such they became the target of other women's resistance.

> "Basically, underneath, we fear each other. We are frightened of women and women's power and you've not just got strong women, you've got strong lesbian women, strong black women. Very strong indeed. ... As women we are afraid of women's power, we are conditioned to fear, we are conditioned to compete as women and we take that right inside ourselves.... We are doing it to ourselves. That's the oppression that's done that to us. That's sexism, that's racism, that's heterosexism, - so we internalise it and I think we can't even name it most of the time. We can't even see what it is -- it's Her !" (W)

Within this Training Centre, women (workers and trainees), engaged with the divisive issues of race, class and sexual preference. The expression of this, localized as it was within the Centre, focused on what were seen as individual representatives. Meanwhile, the external institutionalized structures of racism and homophobia, through which all the women had been constructed, remained intact.

Foucault's concept of reverse-discourse is used in the analysis of this fracturing. Foucault (1980b) states that *reverse*-discourses can be constructed against the dominant one. These reverse-discourses can become clear sites of resistance to the dominant one. However, he argues, they have only a precarious power, for their discourses are automatically marginalized.

The specific 'issue' raised and the extent of the fracture caused was largely dependent on the presence of representative women. The absence of women with disabilities meant that other than a general policy-awareness, (for example, ramps), issues around able-bodied arrogance or ignorance were never aired: there were no women with

disabilities to construct a reverse-discourse to the dominant one of the able-bodied.

The numbers of black and white women (full-time workers and trainees) within the Centre were fairly equal: white coordinator, two white and two black outreach workers (yet the black workers were appointed six to eighteen months after the first white workers, and on temporary Section 11 contracts.[2] Furthermore, all the part-time instructors were white. The case study indicated that in addition to this necessary 'presence', the extent to which race or sexual preference was constructed as a reverse-discourse was affected by the number of 'representative' women, their centre-status, and their broad 'political' awareness and identity. For instance, the black reverse-discourse increased considerably with the eventual appointment of the second black outreach worker, through which the race ratio of the worker group was changed.

'Race' as an issue within the Centre was enormous. The black women created a strong 'reverse-discourse' to the dominant, external, white one. For the black women, their race, their experience of racism, and their need to combat that, was seen to override all other divides. On the other hand, the interviews suggest that class and sexual preference constantly cut across the group of white women, influencing their individual response to the black women's accusations of racism. Furthermore, the specific response of the coordinator was highly influential:

> "Because of (the first coordinator's) background, (that is white, middle-class), it was total intimidation, so (she) used to cave in. .... She was a bit weak because she was so scared of all the issues that were around -

[2] 'Section 11' funding refers to that section of the Local Government Act 1966 which enables the Home Secretary to fund additional Local Authority staff who are employed to tackle needs which are particular to communities of New Commonwealth Origin in accessing mainstream education and employment. Such funding is temporary - with little job security or status. The 'New' Commonwealth countries are, to name just some, Bangladesh, India, Hong Kong, the ('British') West Indies, and those from Africa previously colonised by Britain. In contrast to this the 'Old' Commonwealth refers to Canada, New Zealand and Australia. In the simplistic 'race' terms defined at the beginning of this Note, the 'old' Commonwealth is 'white', the 'new', 'black'.

particularly when the black worker ... started a challenge on racism and got a support group." (Y)

However, the second coordinator, was described as:

"... trying to tackle race issues as they come up - head on, tackling them, not very successfully, but she's tackling them - it's not spoken about over there in the corner, it's very open and it's been very painful to various people, white and black. Previously it had tried to be damped down, but now it's head on. They didn't know how to deal with it because it is a very difficult thing to deal with. But she is more open about it." (Z)

Several white workers referred to the perceived solidarity of the black workers, not only within the Centre, but with other women from the black community. This *apparent* black solidarity is in direct contrast to the white workers' accounts of their own solitary painful struggle with (their) racism.

"I mean my social behaviour just changed completely, because it was highly highly stressful ... - and I was coming home at night and thinking 'am I a racist ?' - and working through all these issues. ... And it was like conflict, after conflict, after conflict. .. My personal life was actually totally affected by the conflicts which were within - because I had to take them home to sort them out. ... In the training scheme .. you didn't have the support to say 'hang on a minute, I don't, I don't understand, I'm trying so hard not to be racist.' .... It can become a very head-banging experience." (Y)

The point here is this lack of 'white solidarity', not as a solid oppositional grouping to the black workers, but as a means of discussion and support for understanding institutional racism and the personal roles and benefits gained individually and collectively by them within it.

This lack of 'solidarity' can be seen as the inevitable result of an essentially pluralistic response to institutionalized racism, typified in what are generally described as 'postmodern' readings.[3] This power, localized into the closed community of the Training

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[3] See for instance, Bauman 1988; Berman 1983; Fraser 1989; Jones 1988; Boyne and Rattansi 1990; Harvey 1989; Lovibond 1990; Skeggs 1991.

Centre, is resisted locally by the black women. The effect of their resistance is felt individually by the white women - meanwhile the dominant white, (and male), power outside of the Centre remains untouched.

The fractures within the Centre criss-crossed across each other. Sexual preference, for instance, cut across race, class and Centre-status lines. Like the black women, the lesbians, (black and white), created an equally strong reverse-discourse to the dominant, external, heterosexual one. Similarly to that of black women and racism, the presence of lesbians was crucial to the issue of homophobia being confronted, and again the strength of the reverse-discourse reflected the number of lesbians involved, and their Centre-status position.

> "The new coordinator is more up-front about racism and being lesbian - these two issues have got more at the front - especially being a lesbian, because she's a lesbian herself. It's the first time lesbian issues have been right at the top there, hand in hand with race issues, whereas it never really got anywhere before." (Z)

The workers' class-identity was fairly equally split between middle-class; working-class now identified as middle-class; and those who remained working-class identified. However, this was simply the class fragmentation amongst the white workers as perceived by them, which was not necessarily how the trainees, black and white, and solidly working-class, would have defined them.

The intersections of 'class' and 'race' were emphasised by those white workers who remained working-class identified. For instance, a white working-class worker compared herself: the daughter of a miner suffering from emphysema, and self-educated through evening-classes; with a "black politicized woman", the daughter of African professionals, and privately educated. At the time of the interview, around four years after this incident, she was still struggling with the argument given that black people cannot be

middle-class because they're so totally disadvantaged by the racist society in which we live.

Another instance was recalled of a white, working-class identified worker being told by a black worker that if she 'really cared about racism' she would resign or else she should be sacked.

> "And this was in an open meeting where everybody was being awfully nice to each other, and I said don't you ever tell me I should be sacked. And like, there was my 'class' - upfront - and like you're not the only person, you're not the only person who's had to struggle, and suddenly there I'd taken on board all the issues that other white women were bringing up - so yet again I was there in the firing line." (Y)

Yet, at the same time as identifying the fractions between them, the women also pointed to a possible commonality: cutting across class, 'race', and sexual preference borders and those between trainee and worker: that is women's experience of male violence. From the ultimate, expressed by one worker, who said:

> "I've changed a lot because my sister was murdered - by her husband." (W)

to an example of the general sea-bed of its existence:

> "When you actually talk to trainees, I think a lot of women are very reticent to talk about personal things - because they've never been taken seriously you know, it's always been, it's the way their sisters are treated, it's the way their mums were treated, you know, it's what happens to them you don't talk about it..... A lot on the training scheme - I would say, a conservative estimate, that at least 75% of our women have suffered extreme physical and mental abuse from either fathers or partners. ... One woman tells a story, and then the next-but-one to her, you know, has got something similar to say, and then someone over the other side, and the other thing that is coming out very strongly is the women who were abused as children by their relatives, brothers, fathers, uncles, whatever, this sort of thing. A lot of women talk about the abuse of their own daughters, and they - do you know, we got women, we've had women whose daughters are prostitutes you know, and they eventually start talking about it, and it's - unfortunately, the actual instances I'm thinking of - it hasn't changed, these girls, these young women, are still into their lifestyle, but I mean once you get into it, it's nigh on impossible to get out of it. And the

> violence, the brutality. When I say how angry I am, when I realize that there but for the stroke of luck go I, because I mean - now whether the women think that, I don't know." (U)

And, a work-related instance of male violence towards a worker:

> "After one social event a worker was driving a trainee home and got badly beaten up by her husband..
> *The worker got beaten up by the husband ?*
> Yeah .... he came dashing out with a lump-hammer and it was horrible." (V)

These examples of the reality of male violence in women's lives were told in passing, they were not the result of any explicit or even implicitly intended questioning - hence their importance in pointing towards possible gendered commonality.

From their experience as 'women', irrespective of race, class, or sexual preference, the women constructed, from their experience and understanding of male violence towards them as women, a noticeably unified reverse-discourse to the dominant external one - the established male discourse. This was most frequently constructed during the morning, when women came back to the Centre from the 'outside'. However, in the Centre, this temporarily constructed reverse-discourse fragments, to be replaced by several others, in reverse to the now *internal* dominant discourse: that of the white middle-class heterosexual *women*. These, the discourses of black women, lesbians, working-class women, are constructed as reverse-discourses to both the *external* and the *internal* dominant discourses.

The space created in the Centre allowed the reverse-discourses to the white, middle-class/educated, heterosexual dominant one to be constructed. Just as Foucault argued, (1980b), that reverse-*discourses*, despite being clear sites of resistance, have only precarious power, for their discourses are automatically marginalized, similarly, what I'm calling *reverse-power* can only exist within that localized site, or sites: it too remains essentially marginalized, with the fundamental power-relations remaining untouched.

The significance of this for the concept of 'localization of power' is that the resistance is expressed, the reverse-discourses constructed, against the *internal* dominant discourse, which although *itself* constructed against the *external* dominant one is, within the localized site, seen quite separately. Therefore, even the reverse-power which is temporarily achieved, is only in relation to the *internal* dominant power, not the external one.[4] Within the Centre, the reverse-power of lesbians and black women increased whilst the internal dominant power of heterosexual women and white women, decreased. The transition from 'reverse-discourse' to 'reverse-power' can find expression only within localized sites and therefore, despite occasional often violent temporary 'spill-overs', is contained there.[5]

Therefore, Foucault's localization of power is not simply the site where 'institutional' power manifests itself, and where individuals can resist it, but, as a closed community, it is also the place where 'reverse-*power*' can emerge, or is it even, *will* - perhaps inevitably - emerge ?

This appended Note, focusing on the internal struggle between women: workers and trainees, shows very clearly the insidiousness of ingrained racism and homophobia, and the extremely painful process of localized resistance to it.

The 'reverse-power' displayed in the Centre epitomizes the conflict existing between a purely localized response to power and that based on a theory constructed through the analysis of the over-arching causes and maintaining structures of oppression. The danger is that localized action can become merely individualistic reactive responses to the particular localized manifestation of the over-riding power. The fight against oppression is simply turned against

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[4] This is similar to that displayed in the 1992 Los Angeles riots where black African-Americans turned more against the local Koreans than against the wealthy multi-privileged whites of nearby Hollywood and Beverley Hills.

[5] For instance the riots in British cities during the early 1980s, and that of Los Angeles in 1992.

other oppressed groups, rather than existing as action determined by the development of theories examining for instance, capitalism, patriarchy, imperialism.

Therefore the *gendered* oppression experienced by black women remains quite separate from that experienced by white; the *gendered* oppression experienced by middle-class women remains separate from that experienced by working-class women; and so on with each group, each individual experiencing the oppression centred on gender, is prevented also from developing a unified theory of it, and furthermore, prevented from unified action against it - or indeed, perhaps, any action other than violence. This means the *gendered* status quo remains as it is.

The following conclusion is drawn from the analysis contained within this Note. The multiple reverse-discourses constructed within the Training Centre related to the *internal* dominant discourse, rather than the *external* one. Any reverse-*power* gained from these reverse-discourses - as well as being only temporary, were also only in relation to the internal dominant power, not the external one. The only unified reverse-discourse to be constructed against the *external* dominant one, centred on women's experience of male violence. Being, as it was, constructed against the *external* discourse, this particular reverse-discourse did not acquire any power whatsoever.

Power *can* be exercised by individuals within localized sites. Individuals can oppress or be oppressed on account of their race, sexuality or class et cetera. In this way they *can* construct 'reverse-power'. Yet, as Foucault indicated, such power, like the precariousness of reverse-discourse, can only be temporary - and localized. The fundamentally untouched dominant power can only be challenged through action which is grounded in theory. Feminist theories must, therefore, be constructed from the differences between women, from a critique focused on the lines of fragmentation, as well as from the commonalities which, centred on

gender, transcend the fragmentation. Theory is the means of understanding, of explaining the world (or oppression), and also the means of targeting action. Theory, however, is not itself an 'answer', but a process - a continuous attempt to understand the world.

Note 34 **European Social Fund - the Objectives.**

"a) **Council Decision of 21 June 1983 on the tasks of the European Social Fund.**

p2: Whereas the task of the Fund is to participate in particular in the financing of vocational training, the promotion of employment and geographical mobility;

Whereas the Fund must become a more active instrument to promote employment policies; whereas to achieve this the range of people eligible for assistance should be enlarged so as to extend in particular the possibility of assistance to those working as trainers, vocational guidance or placement experts, and development agents;

Whereas the Fund must make a special effort to develop employment, particularly in small and medium-sized undertakings, with a view to modernizing management or production or applying new technologies.

p3: Whereas the Fund, as an instrument of employment policy must, taking due account of the principle of Community solidarity, contribute as effectively and as consistently as possible to the solution of the most serious problems and in particular the fight against unemployment, including structural underemployment and the promotion of employment among the groups most affected;

Whereas, in this connection and without prejudice to the assistance which the categories of persons who are particularly vulnerable on the labour market (in particular women, the handicapped and migrants) must continue to receive, a significant part of the Fund resources must be allocated to measures in favour of youth employment, in particular those who have few employment opportunities or who have been unemployed over a long period;
.....

Whereas the Commission shall be responsible for drawing up the guidelines for the management of the Fund so as to ensure a more effective concentration on operations in accordance with Community priorities and with related action programmes in the area of employment or vocational training; ....

p4: has decided as follows:
Article 1
1. The Fund shall assist in the implementation of policies designed to equip the workforce with the skills required for stable employment and to generate employment opportunities. It shall in particular contribute to the socio-vocational insertion and integration of young people and disadvantaged workers, to the adaptation of the workforce to labour-market developments and to technological change and to the reduction of regional imbalances in the labour market.
2. The Fund shall participate in the financing of operations concerning:

(a) vocational training and guidance,
(b) recruitment and wage subsidies,
(c) resettlement and socio-vocational integration in connection with geographical mobility,
(d) services and technical advice concerned with job creation.

Article 3

1. Fund assistance may be granted for operations carried out within the framework of Member States' labour-market policies. These operations shall include in particular those intended to improve employment opportunities for young people, notably by means of vocational training measures after completion of full-time compulsory schooling.
2. Fund assistance may also be granted for specific operations carried out with a view to
- encouraging the implementation of innovatory projects, as a general rule within the framework of a Community programme adopted by the Council, or
- examining the effectiveness of projects for which Fund assistance is granted and facilitating an exchange of experience.

Article 4

1. Fund assistance may be granted in the first place, in order to promote employment for young people under the age of twenty five, in particular those whose chances of employment are especially poor, in particular because of a lack of vocational training or inadequate training and those who are long-term unemployed.
2. Fund assistance may also be granted to promote employment for the following persons over the age of twenty five:
(a) unemployed people, who are threatened with unemployment or who are underemployed and in particular the long-term unemployed;
(b) women who wish to return to work;
(c) handicapped people who are capable of working in the open labour market;
(d) migrant workers who move or have moved within the Community or become residents in the Community to take up work, together with the members of their families;
(e) people who are employed particularly in small or medium-sized undertakings and who require retraining with a view to the introduction of new technology or the improvement of management techniques in those undertakings.

Article 6

1. The Commission shall adopt, before 1 May of each year and for the three following financial years, in accordance with this Decision, and taking into account the need to promote the harmonious development of the Community, the Fund-management guidelines for determining those operations which reflect Community priorities as defined by the Council and in particular the action programmes in the area of employment and vocational training.
2. The Commission shall forward the guidelines, drawn up in close consultation with the Member States, to the European Parliament and the Council and shall publish them in the Official Journal of the European Communities."

"Annex: Statements to be entered in the Minutes:
p2: Statement ad Article 6
"The Council and the Commission state that special attention should be given to projects to promote employment in areas in which the unemployment rate is exceptionally high compared with the national average."

(European Communities: The Council: Council Decision of 21 June 1983 on the tasks of the European Social Fund.)

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b) Priority Objectives of the Structural Funds: 1990-2.

Objective 1
Promoting the development and adjustment of regions whose development is lagging behind.

Objective 2
Converting the regions, frontier regions or parts of regions (including employment areas and urban communities) seriously affected by industrial decline.

Objective 3
Combating long-term unemployment.
(aged over 25, and jobless for more than 12 months.)

Objective 4
Facilitating the occupational integration of young people.
(job seekers aged under 25.)

Objective 5
With a view to reform of the Common Agricultural Policy:
5a: Speeding up the adjustment of agricultural structures.
5b: Promoting the development of rural areas.

(Social Europe no 2, 1991, The European Social Fund, p19)

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c) Priorities under objective 3 - 1992.

Priority 1
Vocational training to improve the qualifications of long term unemployed adults.

Priority 2
The creation of stable jobs and self-employment for long term unemployed adults by the provision of job creation and wage subsidies (except for groups of people covered in priority 3).

Priority 3
Vocational training, retraining and the creation of stable jobs and self-employment for groups of long-term unemployed adults with special difficulties.
(a) women in occupations where they have been traditionally under-represented.
(b) migrants and refugees.
(c) disabled.

(UK ESFU 1992)

Note 35 **Outline of the main ESF Reforms.**

1957 ARTICLE 123 of the TREATY OF ROME.
- purpose: to support the vocational training and retraining of workers.

1960 ESF OPERATIONAL.
- automatic reimbursement from the EC to Member States.

1971 REFORMS.
- ESF should fund *additional* provision.
- emphasis on training the unemployed.
- women classified as a distinct eligible group.

1977 REFORMS.
- national co-ordination and information giving.
- system of Guidelines and Priorities.
- encourages training for women in areas of *under-representation.*

17 OCTOBER 1983 DECISION ADOPTED TO REINFORCE 1977 REFORM.
- prioritised funding towards under-privileged regions.
- prioritised funding towards under-privileged workers: including young unemployed, long-term unemployed, migrants, and women.
- increased use of Guidelines and Priority system.

1988 STRUCTURAL FUNDS REFORM.
- increased integration of
  European Social Fund (ESF)
  European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)
  European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF).
- aim of the Reforms: "to decentralise decisions on the allocation of Funds." (COM(90)516, p5)
- introduces Community Support Frameworks. (CSFs)

1993 PROPOSED CHANGES TO REGULATIONS OF 1988 REFORM.
- all unemployed now included in objective 3.
- over 25: pre-training, basic skills, guidance etc
- under 25 - allows for 2 years vocational training
- 'social exclusion' - labour market integration - training, support structures, and staff training.
- equal opportunities - non-traditional work areas; women returners and without vocational qualifications.
- under-developed regions - training trainers.
- training for workers in occupations of industrial change.

Note 36 Proposed changes to the ESF: 1993.

The European Commission adopted proposals to amend the ESF (1988) Regulations in March 1993. Article 1 of the proposed changed Regulation relates to the 'scope' of the Fund's support.

"The Member States and the Commission shall ensure that action under the different objectives forms a coherent approach to improving the workings of the labour market and developing human resources, taking into account the development, reconversion or structural adjustment objectives in the Member States or regions concerned."

Objective 1 Regions whose development is lagging behind.
"Under Objective 1, in the regions concerned, actions aiming to:
a) strengthen and improve education and training systems, particularly through the training of teachers, trainers and other categories of staff, through encouraging links between training centres or higher education establishments and firms and by financing training provision within the national secondary or equivalent and higher education systems which has a clear link to the labour market, new technology or economic development.
b) contribute to development through the training of public officials in particular where this is necessary for the effective implementation of policies promoting development and structural adjustment."

Objectives 1, 2, and 5(b)
Regions whose development is lagging behind;
regions/parts of regions affected by industrial decline;
development of rural areas.
"Under Objectives 1, 2 and 5(b) in the regions concerned, actions aiming to:
a) support employment growth and stability in particular through continuing training, vocational guidance and counselling of workers, especially those in small and medium-sized enterprises and of people who have lost their jobs, as well as by the development of appropriate training systems including the training of trainers and by the improvement of employment services;
b) boost human potential in research, science and technology, particularly through the provision of post-graduate training, the training of managers, technicians and other personnel of research establishments and through the transfer of know-how in relation to the working of the labour market and the development of human resources."

Objective 3 long-term unemployed aged over 25;
unemployed aged under 25;
persons exposed to social exclusion;
"Under Objective 3, throughout the Community, actions aiming to, in the first place:
a) facilitate the occupational integration of unemployed persons exposed to long-term unemployment in particular through

(i) training, pre-training including upgrading of basic skills, guidance and counselling, and
(ii) employment aids;
b) facilitate the occupational integration of young people in search of employment through actions described in (a) including the provision of vocational training opportunities to enable them to receive up to years of initial training leading to a vocational qualification;

and also:

c) promote integration into the labour market of persons exposed to social exclusion through actions described in (a) and through the development of appropriate training, employment and support structures including the training of necessary staff and provision for childminding arrangements;
d) promote equal opportunities for men and women in respect of employment, especially in non-traditional areas of work and particularly for women without vocational qualifications or returning to the labour market after a period of absence, through actions described in (a) and by provision for childminding arrangements and other accompanying actions."

Objective 4 industrial change and changes in production.

"Under Objective 4, throughout the Community, actions aiming to facilitate the adaptation of workers to industrial change and to changes in production systems in particular through:
(i) the anticipation of labour market trends and vocational qualification requirements;
(ii) the provision of vocational training, retraining, guidance and counselling;
(iii) assistance for the improvement and development of appropriate training systems.
The actions should take into account, in particular, the specific needs of small and medium-sized enterprises."

There are five points to be made, within the confines of this Note, regarding the proposed changes to Objective 3.

Firstly, the process of the narrowing eligibility identified within the 1990-1992 CSFs (p198), is further refined within these 1993 proposals. The emphasis on 'social exclusion', pre-training and basic skills, targets the Funds even more closely on those long-term unemployed women with low educational attainment or previous 'low-level' working experience. The entire evidence of this thesis points towards the working-class identity of such women.

The second point is a direct consequence of the first and it relates to a wider trend within British unemployment related vocational training. This is the recent creation of 'pre-access' courses, which then feed into 'access' courses, which then feed into courses within higher education and lead, finally to qualifications and then, hopefully, employment.

The third point is simply to raise the question if the possible class or race based assumptions inherent in the decision within these proposals to emphasise counselling and guidance.

The fourth point is that the consistent and increasing youth and adult unemployment, can be seen as job creation for the professionals, or alternatively as a necessary prerequisite for ensuring quality provision within an ever expanding area. Hence, the inclusion in these proposals for funding which will cover the training of trainers.

The fifth and final point is that of the continuing emphasis on the equal opportunities led training geared towards non-traditional areas of work.

Note 37 Women's Training Network: 1991.

In Britain, the Women's Training Network have produced information relating to 18 ESF funded women's training projects in 1991.

Number of projects	Type of training
4 projects	non-traditional manual skills training relating primarily to the construction and building renovation industries.
3 projects	construction skills and new technology. *
6 projects	computer and electronics training. *
1 project	clothing technology and new technology. *
1 project	video production or machine knitting, and new technology. *
3 projects	business set-up and business administration skills. (new technology not specified - 'end-user' skills probably included). *

* these 14 projects all offer some type of new technology training.

Of these 14 projects including new technology training:

8 projects	linked with external qualification - mainly City & Guilds or RSA. (1 of these projects works towards BTEC in Micro-Electronics Systems.)
2 projects	provide an internal certificate.
4 projects	do not specify any certificate or qualification.

Note 38 Challenges to the labour market in the 1990s.

Social Europe 3/90c: 'Trends and Challenges of the Labour Market for the 1990s': identification of 5 current areas of challenge:

These are firstly, the 'competition from developed countries', especially the USA's and Japan's domination of the 'high-technology' market; secondly, 'cooperation with the countries of Eastern Europe' - the importance of job creation within those countries in order that a) people do not migrate into the EC, and b) the market is extended. The third area is that of 'technological progress' - the need for appropriately 'skilled' labour and, coupled with demographic changes, the need "to attract women into the working population." (p10) Next comes the 'protection of the environment' which has an effect on levels of growth, goods produced, and methods of manufacture; and finally, 'balanced regional developments' - the need for benefit to reach the EC as a whole and thereby to increase the stability of the labour force and of the market.

Note 39 **Extended extract from EC 1987c, New forms and new areas of employment growth: UK.**

"Developments in occupational structure:
... growth of white-collar jobs, especially of the more skilled kind and decline of blue-collar work *especially for those with few skills or skills tied to industries in decline.*
..... changes can be attributable to: technological change; organisational changes, including the increasing tendency to sub-contract many service functions; and finally, changing job demarcations. ....
Over the period 1971-81 ... the significant areas of employment decline ... are principally lower skilled, white-collar and blue-collar occupations in the non-service sector. The main growth areas ... include the highly skilled professional occupations and the service sector. ...
Between 1981 and 1984 the pattern was similar although not quite so clear cut. In growth sectors the main areas of increase were in the service sector again, especially amongst white collar occupations. .....

Predictions ... an increasing number of highly skilled non-manual jobs; a slow down, if not a reversal, in the growth of routine clerical work; and with a few exceptions, a declining number of craft, operative and labouring jobs. *The only increases in the 'blue collar/manual' part of the job spectrum are likely to be for certain multiskilled technicians and craftsmen* and for security and personal service occupations. (plus) a further concentration of the areas of growth into a few selected industrial sectors such as insurance, banking and finance, professional services and miscellaneous services.
Again these areas of increase are expected to especially favour the white-collar occupations. ....

Related to the changing occupational structure of employment has been an increasing proportion of persons holding formal qualifications. This has been reflected both in rising standards of entry into many occupations coupled with a growing proportion of young people entering higher and further education in order to meet these entry requirements and to compete in the labour market. ....
In addition technological and organisational change have resulted in an ever increasing complexity in economic affairs which have resulted in growing demands for those with scientific, technological, business, language and other skills." (p6-14)

Note 40 Names of Member States, and their English equivalent.

Belglë or Belgique	Belgium
Danmark	Denmark
Deutschland	Germany
Ellas	Greece
España	Spain
France	France
Ireland	Ireland
Italia	Italy
Luxembourg	Luxembourg
Nederland	The Netherlands
Portugal	Portugal
United Kingdom	United Kingdom

'Employers prepare to ditch equal opportunities at work' from *The Independent on Sunday*, 14.2.93. p1.

Employers prepare to ditch equal opportunities at work

By Barrie Clement and Donald Macintyre

A CONFIDENTIAL report by senior CBI officials suggests that the employers' organisation is preparing to abandon support for equal opportunities for women and the ethnic minorities. Other disadvantaged groups – the disabled, long-term unemployed, the over-50s and ex-offenders – would also be sacrificed.

The paper argues that rising unemployment has reduced the need for employers to concern themselves with getting previously under-represented groups into the labour force and improving their levels of skill. Unemployment is unlikely to fall below 2.5 million during the 1990s, it says.

"Clearly some of the business arguments for accessing and advancing previously excluded groups and for increasing training become less relevant," says the paper, which has been distributed to members of the CBI's employment policy committee.

The CBI's present policy is based on a report drawn up in 1989. It said that intense competition for labour would force employers to pay more attention to the under-used potential in disadvantaged groups. Now, the confidential document, "Economic Growth and the Prospects for Employment", concludes that the "demographic timebomb" which was expected to lead to a shortage of young people in the labour market, has been "defused". The labour market will probably be "much slacker" than expected.

It warns that "social and political pressures on government can be expected to grow if the prospect of 2.5m unemployed (many of them long term) through the rest of the century is accompanied by evidence of the continued exclusion from full participation in the labour market of many citizens".

Disclosure of the document – which a spokeswoman said was consultative – will lead to considerable embarrassment at the CBI which promotes itself as an equal opportunities employer. The confederation is one of the main supporters of Opportunity 2000 which seeks to ensure that women are represented at all levels in companies.

A spokeswoman for the Equal Opportunities Commission said industry should remain aware of the needs and abilities of women. "After all they make up 44 per cent of the workforce – more than 12 million people." Critics may also consider the CBI report indifferent to the plight of the ethnic minorities, which suffer the highest rates of unemployment especially in the inner-cities.

The disclosure comes as the Government steels itself for this week's announcement that unemployment has passed three million. Behind the scenes, ministers are finalising details of a new programme of cash grants to ease the long-term unemployed back into jobs. It will be included in a package of employment measures to be announced by the Chancellor, Norman Lamont, next month at the same time as the Budget.

The package will also include benefit rule changes to allow jobless people to go on courses and do voluntary work, and an expansion of the Business Start-Up Scheme which now helps 30,000 people a year to start small businesses.

The changes in benefit rules are particularly significant. At present jobless people are precluded from taking full-time futher education courses or unpaid jobs in the voluntary sector because they do not then conform with the rigid "available for work" criteria laid down by the Departments of Employment and Social Security.

The changes could eventually lead to a form of "workfare" – a requirement to do useful work in return for benefit. But there will be no element of compulsion in the Chancellor's package and Whitehall sources stressed that ministers had made no decisions on "workfare" programmes.

A "back to work" bonus scheme foreshadowed in the Tory manifesto has been brought forward to boost next month's package. Directed particularly at inner-city residents without a job for more than six months, it will give them £100 to £150 for new clothes, some tools where necessary, and cash to cover the gap before their first pay cheque.

The CBI paper predicts that the jobless figures will rise to 3.1 million by the middle of this year, possibly levelling out at around 3.2 million in 1994. These pessimistic predictions have been confirmed by the Institute of Employment Research at Warwick, which also advises the Department of Employment.

Recession-by-sea, page 4

APPENDIX 2

FIGURES.

Figure 1 The European Community's decision making process.

Source: EC 1992a, *Eurostat: Europe in Figures*. p25.

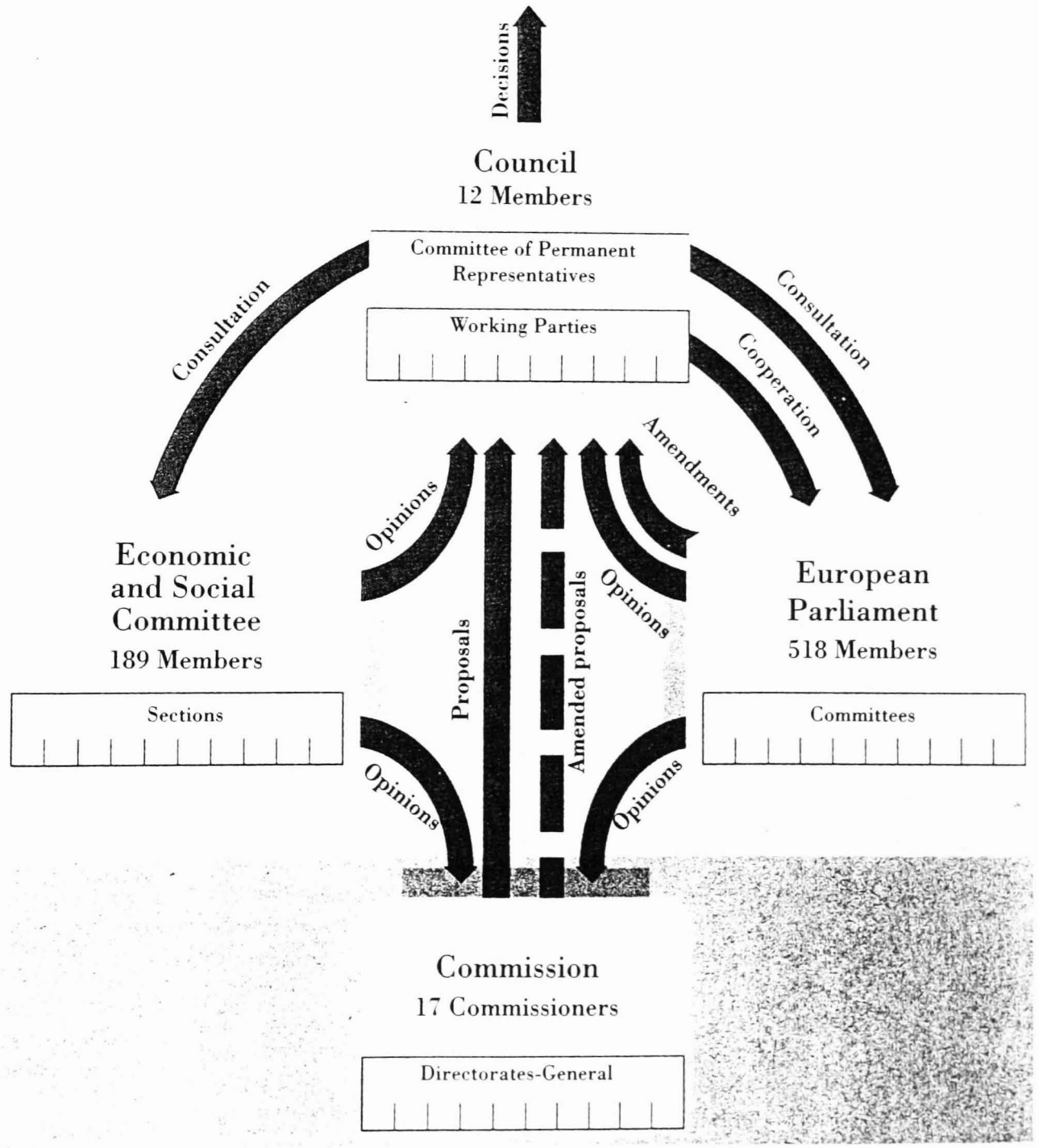


Figure 2 Unemployment in the EC: Activity rates of women: 1987.

Source: EC 1989a, *Employment in Europe 1989*. p91.

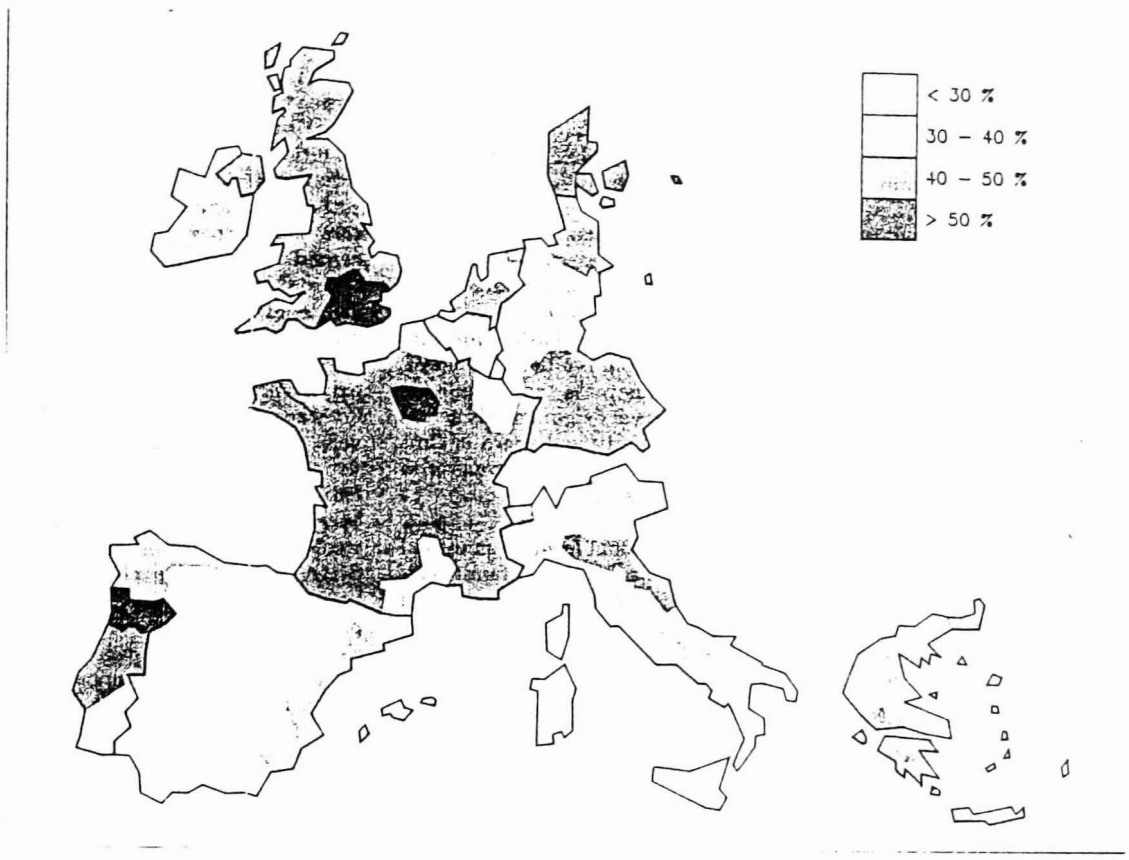


Figure 3 Unemployment rates in the EC regions: 1987.

Source: EC 1989a, *Employment in Europe 1989*. p115.

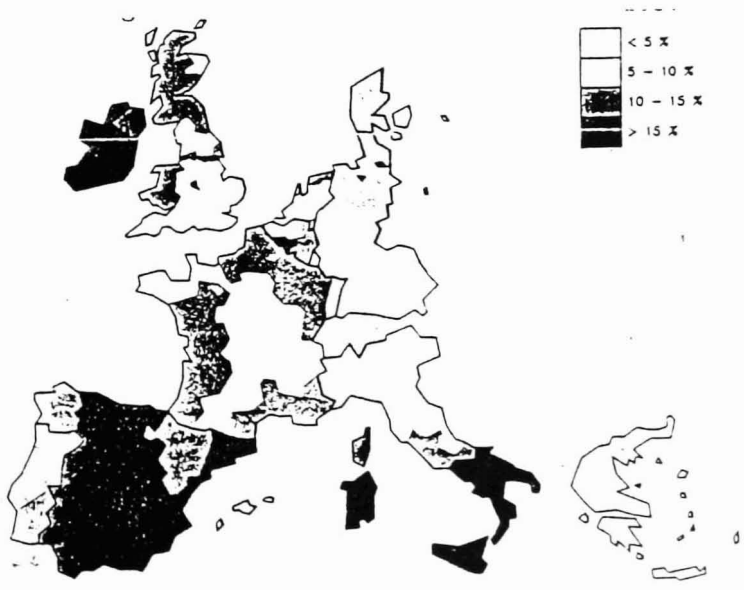


Figure 4 Unemployment in the EC: 1991.

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992*. p27.

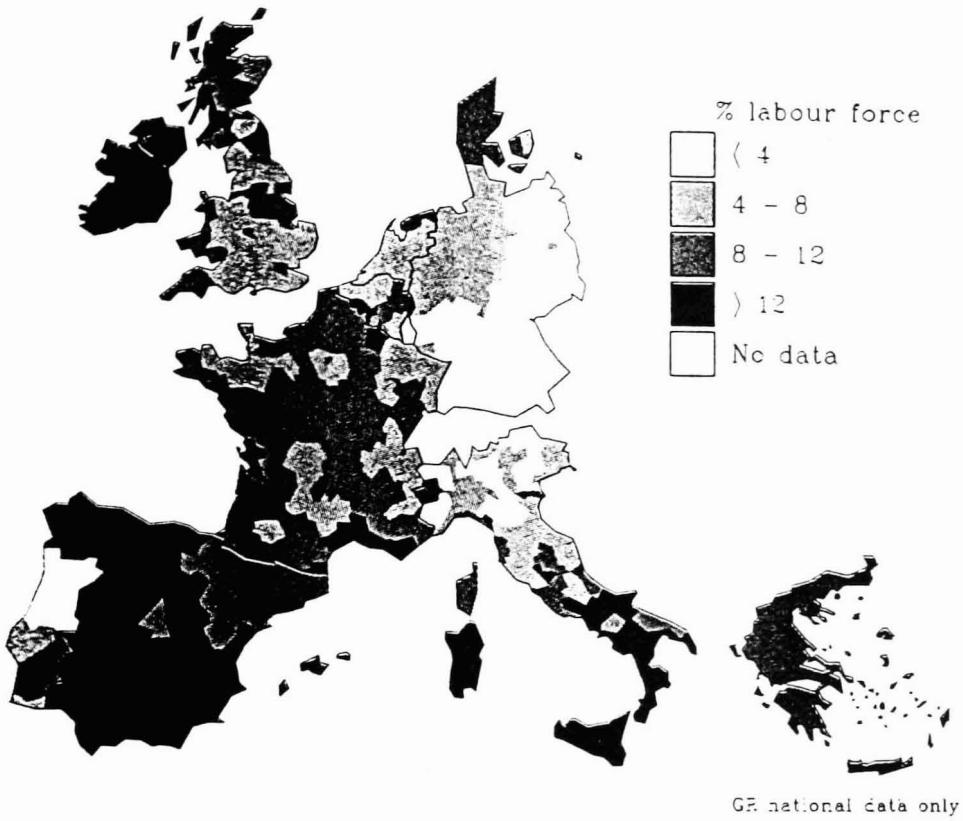


Figure 5 'Where are the unemployed ?': EC: 1987.

Source: EC 1989a, *Employment in Europe 1989*. p115.

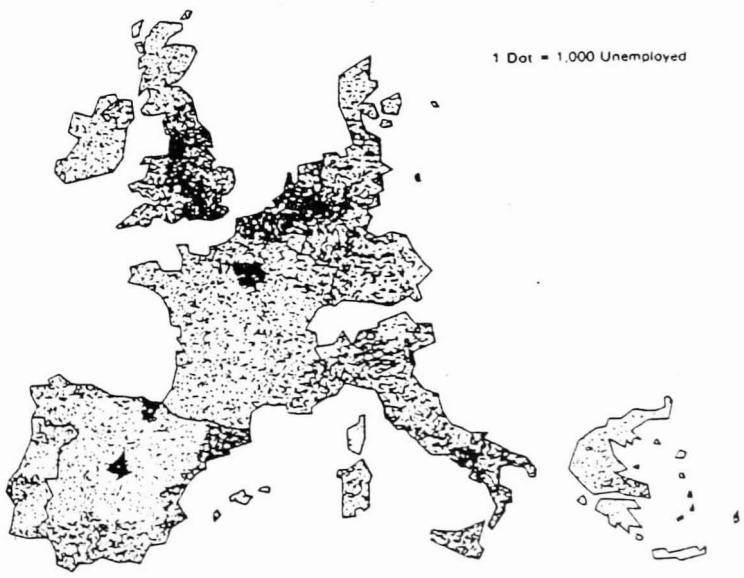
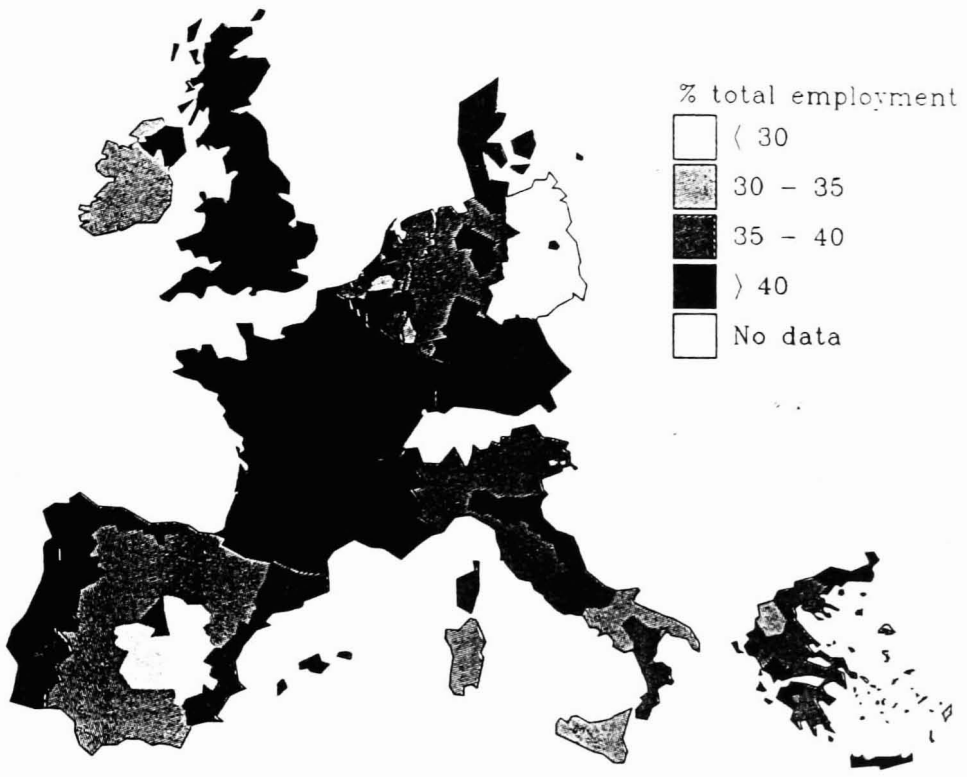


Figure 6 **Women in the EC labour market: share of employment: 1990.**

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992*. p134.



APPENDIX 3

TABLES.

Table 1 The EC labour force: employment and hours worked: males and females: 1985.

[Taken from EC 1987b, *New Forms and New Areas of Employment Growth: a comparative study.* Compiled from tables 6 and 7, p20/1, shown as percentage and as thousands]

	Euro-10	UK
Population/labour force:		
total population	267,277	55,769
total male population	129,279	27,176
as a % of the total population	48.5%	48.5%
% in the labour force	69.0%	72.9%
total female population	137,998	28,593
as a % of the total population	51.5%	51.5%
% in the labour force	40.9%	47.9%
Labour force: male/female:		
males in labour force	72,690	16,076
males employed	66,792	14,173
females in labour force	47,046	11,358
females employed	41,526	10,110
% employed of those in the labour force:		
% of males employed	91.9%	88.2%
% of females employed	88.3%	89.0%
% of males unemployed	8.1%	11.8%
% of females unemployed	11.7%	11.0%
% full-time/part-time of those employed:		
% of males employed full-time	96.6%	95.6%
% of females employed full-time	71.2%	55.2%
% of males employed part-time	3.4%	4.4%
% of females employed part-time	28.8%	44.8%
Employed in industry: % male and female:		
% of males employed in industry	43.0%	45.5%
% of females employed in industry	21.2%	19.5%

Table 2 EC 'equal pay' policies.

Source: Women of Europe 36/92, *The position of women in the labour market.* p50

Countries	Year	Designation	Sanctioning Bodies
Belgium	1975	National Employment Council's Collective Agreement on Labour n° 25, enforced by Royal Decree	Parties to the collective bargaining process
Denmark	1973	Collective agreement at national level on wage parity.	
France	1972	Law n° 72/1143 on gender wage parity	Ministry of Labour; Commission for Women's Affairs
Germany	1980	Code of Civil Law (para. 612)	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs; Industrial Tribunals
Greece	1984	Law n° 1414/84 on the application of gender parity in employment	Ministry of Labour
Ireland	1974	Anti-Wage-Discrimination Act (amended by the Equal Opportunities Act)	Employment Equality Agency; Industrial Tribunals
Italy	1960	Agreement on wage parity in industry	Parties to the collective bargaining process
	1964	Agreement on wage parity in industry	Ministry of Agriculture
Netherlands	1975	Equal Pay Act	Civil courts
	1984	(revised) Equal Treatment act (integrating the equal pay act of 1975 and the Equal Treatment act of 1980).	Civil courts
Portugal	1979	Equal opportunities legislation (work & employment)	Commission for Equality; Labour Inspectorate
Spain	1980	Worker's status	Industrial Tribunals; Labour Inspectorate
United Kingdom	1970	Equal Pay Act	
	1975	(in force)	Industrial Tribunals
	1984	(amended)	

Source : OECD Employment Prospects 1988, pps. 181-182.

Table 3 Percentage of eligible requests met by the ESF.

Compiled from European File 2/84 p3 and European File 19/86 p8.

1982 55% of eligible requests were met
1986 49% of eligible requests were met.

In 1986 there were 6,449 applications.
These applications covered 7,806 actual projects.
These applications represented 5,200 million Ecus.
This represented "an increase of more than 1/3rd in relation to the overall volume of applications from the previous year." (European File 19/86 p8)

Table 4 Financial commitments to Member States: 1982-86.

Source: *House of Lords Select Committee on the European Communities: Reform of the Structural Fund*; Session 1987-88; 14th Report: table 3, p24.

Member States' Share of Commitments—1982–86 (Total)

	Total (million ecu)	*Percentage*	*EAGGF Guidance*	*Percentage*	*ERDF*	*Percentage*	*ESF*	*Percentage*
Belgium	468.0	1.8	70.9	1.7	116.6	1.0	280.5	2.8
Denmark	439.4	1.7	87.4	2.1	88.7	0.7	263.3	2.6
West Germany	1,362.9	5.2	475.6	11.5	378.3	3.1	509.0	5.1
Greece	2,563.0	9.8	471.4	11.4	1,571.0	12.9	520.6	5.2
Spain	1,052.7	4.0	64.4	1.6	640.9	5.3	347.4	3.5
France	3,924.6	14.9	888.7	21.5	1,521.0	12.5	1,514.9	15.2
Ireland	2,118.6	8.1	404.5	9.8	666.5	5.5	1,047.6	10.5
Italy	7,438.5	28.3	981.8	23.8	3,952.3	32.5	2,504.4	25.2
Luxembourg	25.7	0.1	9.8	0.2	10.2	0.1	5.7	0.1
Netherlands	438.2	1.7	107.4	2.6	122.8	1.0	208.0	2.1
Portugal	618.7	2.4	24.8	0.6	380.8	3.1	213.1	2.1
UK	5,806.0	22.1	538.6	13.1	2,728.5	22.4	2,538.9	25.5
Other	1.6		—		1.2		0.4	
Total	26,257.9		4,125.3		12,178.8		9,953.8	

Table 5 Member States' payments to EC Budget and amounts received from it: 1982-86.

Source: *House of Lords Select Committee on the European Communities: Reform of the Structural Fund*; Session 1987-88; 14th Report: table 7, p27.

Amounts Paid to the EC Budget and Received from it by Member States (1982–86)

	Contributions to EC Own Resources		*Payments received from EC budget*[1]		*Structural Fund payments as a percentage of all payments*
	(million ecu)	*Percentage*	*(million ecu)*	*Percentage*	
Belgium	6,343.2	4.9	4,459.1	3.8	7.9
Denmark	2,826.1	2.2	4,531.4	3.8	8.5
West Germany	35,457.5	27.6	19,544.8	16.4	6.5
Greece	2,135.5	1.7	7,309.2	6.2	24.1
Spain	2,320.6	1.8	2,415.5	2.0	20.3
France	25,739.0	20.0	23,758.5	20.0	12.1
Ireland	1,404.6	1.1	6,239.2	5.3	25.9
Italy	17,277.0	13.5	21,139.6	17.8	21.4
Luxembourg	241.8	0.2	37.6	0.0	46.5
Netherlands	8,840.5	6.9	10,217.8	8.6	3.2
Portugal	278.6	0.2	497.8	0.4	59.9
UK	25,544.9	19.9	18,632.2	15.7	23.3
Total	128,409.3		118,782.7		15.4

Table 6 Allocation of ESF funds: UK and Italy.

Compiled from European Files 19/79 p5, 2/84 p3, 19/86 p5.

Allocation as a percentage of available ESF Funds.

	United Kingdom	Italy
1978	20.0%	41.0%
1982	29.0%	29.7%
1986	24.0%	21.0% *

* 45% of the total 1986 Budget was allocated to Priority 1 regions. The figures shown for 1986 in this table are a percentage of the remaining 55%.

Table 7 **ESF allocation as a part of the total EC Budget.**

Source: European Files 2/84 p3, 18/86 p8.

1976	less than 500 million Ecus.
1980	1,000 million Ecus.
1982	1.58 billion Ecus. *
1985	2,100 billion Ecus.
1986	2,240 billion Ecus.

* This 1.58 billion Ecus of 1982 represents a 270% increase on 1978, and a 42.4% increase on the allocation for 1981.

Table 8 **Number of ESF projects funded and number of people trained: 1987.**

Source: Women of Europe 30 1989, Table 5.7 p107.

	Projects funded		People trained
ESF projects across EC:	6,983		
United Kingdom	1,789	(largest)	810,303 *
Portugal	1,146	(second)	287,754
Italy	935	(third)	
Greece	711	(fourth)	

* UK 810,303 trainees: 354,456 women; 455,847 men.

Table 9 EC unemployment rates by Member State: 1983-1989.

Source: Women of Europe 36 1992, p24.

	Europe 12	Belgium	Denmark	FRG	Greece (1)	Spain	France	Ireland	Italy	Luxem-bourg	Nether-lands	Portugal	United Kingdom
Total M/W													
1983	9.9	12.5	9.3	6.9	7.8	17.8	8.2	15.2	8.8	3.5	12.4	8.0	11.1
1984	10.7	12.5	8.7	7.1	8.1	20.6	9.8	16.8	9.3	3.1	12.3	8.7	11.3
1985	10.8	11.6	7.2	7.1	7.8	21.8	10.2	18.2	9.6	2.9	10.5	8.8	11.4
1986	10.7	11.6	5.6	6.3	7.4	21.0	10.3	18.2	10.5	2.6	10.2	8.2	11.4
1987	10.3	11.4	5.7	6.2	7.4	20.4	10.4	18.1	10.2	2.6	10.0	6.8	10.4
1988	9.7	10.0	6.5	6.1	7.7	19.3	9.9	17.6	10.8	2.1	9.3	5.6	8.5
1989	8.9	8.5	7.7	5.5	7.5	17.1	9.4	17.0	10.7	1.8	8.7	5.0	7.0
Men													
1983	8.7	8.6	8.2	6.2	5.8	16.5	6.3	14.6	5.8	2.6	11.1	5.3	11.9
1984	9.4	8.4	7.4	6.1	6.0	19.4	7.9	16.3	6.2	2.4	11.0	6.5	11.9
1985	9.4	7.5	5.6	6.1	5.6	20.3	8.4	17.5	6.3	2.1	9.2	6.7	11.7
1986	9.2	7.4	4.0	5.2	5.1	19.2	8.5	17.5	7.1	1.8	8.4	6.4	11.8
1987	8.6	7.5	4.5	5.1	5.1	16.8	8.3	17.4	7.0	1.8	7.5	5.1	10.8
1988	7.8	6.7	5.5	4.9	4.9	15.0	7.7	17.0	7.2	1.5	7.2	3.9	8.7
1989	7.0	5.4	6.8	4.3	4.6	12.9	7.0	16.1	7.2	1.3	6.5	3.4	7.2
Women													
1983	11.8	19.0	10.5	8.0	11.7	20.8	10.8	16.5	14.4	5.3	14.7	11.8	9.9
1984	12.7	19.3	10.2	8.6	12.1	23.3	12.3	18.0	15.2	4.4	14.9	11.9	10.6
1985	13.0	18.4	9.1	8.7	11.7	25.2	12.6	19.7	15.7	4.3	12.8	11.7	11.0
1986	13.0	18.5	7.4	8.1	11.6	25.2	12.8	19.9	16.7	4.0	13.4	10.9	11.0
1987	13.0	17.6	7.0	7.9	11.4	27.7	13.3	19.3	16.1	3.9	14.0	9.2	9.9
1988	12.6	15.2	7.6	7.9	12.5	27.5	12.8	18.9	17.0	3.1	12.8	7.9	8.3
1989	11.7	13.3	8.6	7.4	12.4	25.2	12.4	18.8	16.9	2.7	12.1	7.1	6.7

Table 10 EC: registered unemployed as percentage of working population.

Source: European Files 2/84 & 19/86.

1979 - 1982		EC registered unemployed almost doubled.
1982	unemployed:	12 million people: 11% of working population.
1985/6	unemployed:	16 million people: * 12% of working population.

* 16 million is a sixfold increase over the unemployed figure for 1970.

Table 11 UK: ranking of occupations in percentage growth in employment: 1971-1981.

Compiled from EC 1987c: *New forms and new areas of employment growth: final report for the United Kingdom.* Taken from table 3.4, p46-9.

Growth occupations - assumed 'traditional' for women:

office managers	58.96%
catering supervisors	48.71%
sales supervisors	47.73%
supervisors of clerks, civil service executive officers	41.16%
supervisors of typists, telephonists etc.	40.63%
secretaries, shorthand typists, receptionists	7.33%

Growth occupations - assumed 'non-traditional' for women:

painters, decorators, french polishers	60.94%
mechanical plant, fork-lift, truck & crane drivers	32.23%
engineers, technologist	13.48%
electrical and electronic engineers	3.61%

Declining occupations - assumed 'traditional' for women:

clerks	-0.77%
all other professional & related supporting management	-0.77%
domestic staff and school helpers	-5.67%
tailors, dressmakers & other clothing workers	-32.63%
textile workers	-51.31%

Declining occupations - assumed 'non-traditional' for women:

motor vehicle and aircraft mechanics	-7.68%
woodworkers, pattern maker	-11.61%
plumbers, heating & ventilating fitters, gas fitters	-13.24%
all others in construction, mining, quarrying, etc.	-15.23%
bus conductors, drivers' mates	-21.99%
building and construction workers	-25.43%
general labourers	-41.44%
bus, coach, lorry drivers etc.	-68.17%

Analysis to Table 11.

This Table relates to occupational changes. (EC 1987c Table 3.4 p46-9) The occupation showing the greatest percentage of growth between 1971-81 is that of 'retail shop cashiers, check-out and cash and wrap operators' - an increase of 7032.11%. The significance of

the expansion in retail cashiers is emphasised by the occupation with the second highest percentage growth. This is 'supervisors - housekeeping and related' a growth of 156.88%. Although during this period there was this overwhelming expansion of cashiers, other retail occupations such as 'salesmen, sales assistants, shop assistants, and shelf fillers etc.' underwent a decrease of 6.75%. This shows changes happening *within* a particular industry.

Looking at the occupations of decline, 'bus, coach and lorry drivers' are the occupations with the second highest rate of decline, the first relating to 'fishing'. 'Textile workers' are fourth in decline. There is no occupational listing specifying any aspect of new technology, either production or use, for the rapid expansion of both has occurred during the 80's. This Table indicates occupational trends just before the subsequent further impact of new technology.

The growth trend in 'traditional' female occupations was overwhelmingly in areas of 'supervision', with only a small increase in typists and secretaries. Meanwhile other, 'lower-skilled' or more supportive general office occupations were already beginning the decline which would continue and change rapidly throughout the 80s. Textile workers were already in rapid decline. These changes in retail, office work and the textile industry are occupational changes in areas of high female employment. At the same time, any identifiable areas of growth in non-traditional occupations are likewise extremely specific. Firstly, the occupations of greatest growth in these areas seem to be those most immune from new technological developments, such as painting and decorating, and fork-lift/crane drivers. Also, interestingly, is the indication of growth in occupations connected with the production of new technology.

Table 12 UK: ranking of industries by percentage growth in employment: 1971-1981.

Compiled from EC 1987c: *New forms and new areas of employment growth: final report for the United Kingdom.* Taken from table 5.4, p100-3.

	1971-81		1981-85	
computer services	5.8%	(6)	2.9%	(24)
food (retail)	-0.2%	(78)	2.4%	(32)
clothing (retail)	0.6%	(62)	2.0%	(37)
radio/electronic goods (m)	2.1%	(33)	1.4%	(43)
repair of motor vehicles	1.4%	(46)	0.6%	(56)
other electronic equip (m)	-1.5%	(117)	0.5%	(57)
telecommunication equipment	-0.8%	(99)	-0.7%	(84)
telecommunications	-0.1%	(76)	-1.5%	(105)
building completion	-0.4%	(86)	-1.5%	(107)
hosiery & other knitted goods (m)	-3.3%	(167)	-2.9%	(134)
clothing etc (m)	-4.2%	(180)	-3.9%	(143)
other textiles	-4.5%	(185)	-4.5%	(151)
construction/repair/ demolition of buildings	-0.5%	(89)	-4.8%	(157)

m: manufacturing.

Analysis to table 12.

This Table refers to industrial changes. As mentioned above, from 1975 onwards the manufacturing industry began an apparently unstoppable decline. Table 5.4 (1987c p100-103) provides the following information. In the industries showing any growth at all there are only 3 industries with 'manf' specified next to it, whereas there are 46 such industries in those shown as experiencing a decline for the period 1981-85. This is a crude indicator of the main trend. The industry with the largest percentage growth was the accommodation section of the tourist industry which ranked in position 37 in growth during 1971-81 but topped the list in the growth from 1981-85. The industry with the largest growth from

1971-81 was that concerned with the 'extraction of mineral oil and natural gas' and this dropped to third growth position during the 1981-5 period.

This extracted Table shows a rise in employment in the computer industry up to 1981 followed by a slight levelling off to 1985. This relates simply to the production of computers and presumably to the software as well. The effects, combined with other related aspects of new technology, are also seen in the occupational changes detailed in table 11. Table 12 also shows the growth in the retail industry - those shown being indicative of the whole. The other industry of interest is that of telecommunications, which although showing a decline in the numbers employed in telecommunications itself, nevertheless shows a 0.1% re-surge in telecommunication *equipment*. As seen in Chapter 6, telecommunications is now, in the early 90's, an area of great expansion especially through its linkage with information technology to create the new growth industry of telematics. The other trend to note, for it too is developed in Chapter 6, is the general decline in the numbers employed in the construction industry which is also mirrored in Table 11.

Table 13 EC: sectoral distribution of employment: 1989.

Source: Women of Europe 36 1992, p21.

Men's share by sector, 1989	Germany OFR	Germany ODR	Belgium	Denmark	Spain	France	United Kingdom	Greece	Ireland	Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands	Port
Agriculture	3.5%		3.9%	8.1%	14.0%	7.8%	3.2%	21.6%	20.9%	9.2%	4.0%	5.7%	16.9
Energy and water	2.7%		1.8%	1.5%	1.6%	1.8%	3.3%	1.8%	1.8%	1.4%	2.0%	1.5%	1.4
Extraction of minerals; chemical industry	6.8%		7.0%	2.5%	4.5%	4.1%	4.1%	3.1%	4.0%	4.2%	13.0%	4.1%	4.8
Metal manufacture; mechanical, electrical and instrument engineering	20.6%		12.2%	10.3%	9.5%	12.5%	13.4%	4.4%	7.0%	8.7%	5.0%	9.4%	6.8
Other manufacturing industries	9.8%		10.2%	11.0%	11.5%	9.3%	10.2%	11.1%	10.6%	10.2%	9.0%	10.6%	14.1
Building and civil engineering	10.1%		9.1%	11.7%	12.8%	12.0%	12.9%	9.9%	10.0%	12.1%	12.0%	10.3%	14.1
Industry : total	50.0%		40.3%	37.0%	39.8%	39.8%	44.0%	30.3%	33.3%	36.5%	41.0%	35.8%	41.3
Distributive trades, hotels and catering	13.0%		15.4%	15.6%	19.9%	16.0%	17.0%	19.0%	16.5%	20.6%	16.0%	16.8%	18.4
Transport and communication	7.1%		9.8%	10.0%	7.4%	7.7%	8.5%	9.0%	6.5%	7.2%	8.0%	7.8%	5.9
Banking, finance and insurance	7.2%		7.8%	9.7%	5.5%	7.9%	9.6%	4.3%	6.8%	3.9%	10.0%	10.9%	3.9
Public administration	9.9%		9.8%	6.4%	5.5%	8.7%	6.3%	7.1%	6.0%	8.7%	9.0%	7.4%	7.7
Other services	9.4%		13.0%	13.2%	7.9%	12.1%	11.5%	8.7%	10.0%	13.9%	12.0%	15.6%	5.9
Services : total	46.5%		55.8%	54.9%	46.2%	52.4%	52.9%	48.1%	45.8%	54.3%	55.0%	58.5%	41.5
Total (where a sector is declared)	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0
Women's share by sector, 1989	**Germany OFR**	**Germany ODR**	**Belgium**	**Denmark**	**Spain**	**France**	**United Kingdom**	**Greece**	**Ireland**	**Italy**	**Luxembourg**	**Netherlands**	**Portu**
Agriculture	4.4%	6.7%	2.4%	3.0%	11.2%	5.7%	1.0%	32.3%	4.5%	9.2%	3.6%	3.1%	22.8
Energy and water (1)	0.5%	25.6%	0.5%	0.0%	0.3%	0.6%	0.8%	0.5%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.4%	0.3
Extraction of minerals; chemical industry (2)	3.3%	1.9%	2.0%	1.4%	1.5%	1.8%	1.8%	1.2%	1.7%	2.0%	1.8%	1.1%	2.1
Metal manufacture; mechanical, electrical and instrument engineering	9.3%		3.6%	3.5%	2.4%	4.8%	5.1%	0.9%	6.2%	3.6%	1.8%	2.2%	1.7
Other manufacturing industries	9.9%	2.8%	9.4%	9.1%	12.1%	8.7%	8.4%	14.6%	10.6%	16.1%	3.6%	6.1%	20.7
Building and civil engineering	1.9%	1.9%	0.8%	1.6%	0.7%	1.5%	1.6%	0.0%	0.8%	1.3%	1.8%	1.5%	0.6
Industry : total	24.8%		16.2%	15.7%	17.0%	17.4%	17.6%	17.2%	19.3%	23.2%	9.1%	11.3%	25.4
Distributive trades, hotels and catering	22.3%	12.3%	22.0%	15.4%	26.6%	18.3%	25.3%	18.5%	23.5%	22.8%	27.3%	21.2%	16.1
Transport and communication	3.7%	4.5%	2.7%	4.4%	2.1%	3.7%	3.5%	2.1%	3.4%	2.3%	3.6%	3.2%	2.0
Banking, finance and insurance	9.5%		8.5%	10.0%	4.9%	10.1%	12.1%	5.1%	10.9%	4.6%	16.4%	10.3%	2.7
Public administration	8.0%		9.9%	7.9%	5.2%	10.2%	5.7%	5.9%	4.8%	7.0%	7.3%	5.1%	5.7
Other services (3)	27.2%	44.2%	38.3%	43.6%	32.8%	34.5%	34.9%	18.8%	33.6%	31.0%	32.7%	45.8%	25.4
Services : total	70.7%		81.4%	81.4%	71.8%	76.9%	81.3%	50.5%	76.2%	67.5%	87.3%	85.6%	51.8
Total (where a sector is declared)	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0
1983 dissimilarity index	32.3%		33.9%	35.7%	34.4% (4)	28.5%	35.9%	27.5%	34.0%	27.4%	40.1%	36.9%	33.4
Women's share in employment	38.6%		34.3%	45.1%	35.7%	40.7%	40.9%	32.7%	30.6%	32.0%	32.9%	33.1%	39.9
1989 dissimilarity index	30.5%		32.7%	32.2%	32.3%	28.5%	34.1%	25.2%	34.8%	25.9%	38.4%	34.6%	31.9
Women's share in employment	39.0%		36.8%	45.4%	31.3%	42.3%	43.1%	35.0%	32.8%	34.1%	35.5%	37.1%	41.7

Table 14 EC: women's earnings (hourly) as a percentage of men's: 1972-1987.

Source: Women of Europe 30 1989, p62.

	B	DK	D	GR	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK
	BFR	DKR	DM	DR	FF	IR£	LIT	LFR	HFL	UK£
FEMALES' EARNINGS AS % OF MALES'										
1972	68,42	...	69,65	68,18	78,67	...	76,29	62,50	64,64	60,26
1975	71,52	84,31	72,55	70,45	78,47	60,94	79,71	63,19	72,41	67,91
1977	70,98	86,50	72,81	69,23	77,43	62,13	84,64	65,02	73,48	71,60
1978	70,73	86,13	73,02	68,29	78,32	64,10	83,06	63,55	73,49	69,89
1979	70,27	86,36	72,69	68,00	78,29	66,96	84,12	61,88	72,29	70,83
1980	70,25	86,05	72,63	67,46	78,28	68,70	84,13	64,71	73,27	69,65
1981	71,59	85,77	72,78	66,88	79,48	67,20	84,87	63,35	72,64	69,96
1982	73,12	85,11	72,84	74,06	79,46	68,35	86,29	63,60	73,23	69,90
1983	73,97	85,47	72,45	74,60	80,10	68,35	87,19	65,19	74,00	69,46
1984	73,77	85,83	72,75	75,88	80,19	68,35	84,48	64,80	74,10	69,42
1985	74,52	85,83	72,99	78,79	80,76	67,30	83,91	66,13	73,55	69,31
1986	74,29	85,63	73,39	77,53	81,11	67,25		64,51	74,22	68,97
1987	75,31	85,62	73,67	78,68	80,76	67,35		65,27		69,51

Notes :

Table 15 EC: women's earnings (gross weekly) as a percentage of men's: 1983-1989.

Source: Women of Europe 36 1992, p51.

	Federal Republic of germany	Belgium	Denmark	Spain	France	United Kingdom	Greece	Ireland	Italy	Luxem-bourg	Nether-lands	Portugal
Manual Worker's gross avera-ge hourly earnings Industry as a whole												
Women's earnings/men's earnings 89	73.4	75.1	n.a.	n.a.	80.8	68.8	n.a.	68.6	n.a.	63.2	75.9	69.4
Difference 89-83	1.2	1.2	n.a.	n.a.	+0.7	0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	-2	+1.9	n.a.
Manufacturing												
89	72.8	74	84.5	n.a.	79.5	68.3	79.7	69.3	n.a.	58.5	75.4	68
Difference 89-83	0.2	0.6	-1	n.a.	+1.1	-0.2	+5.1	+0.8	n.a.	-2.9	-0.4	n.a.
Employees' gross monthly earnings Industry as a whole												
Women's earnings/men's earnings 89	66.5	64.5	n.a.	n.a.	64.9	55.2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	55.6	64.5	73.4
Difference 89-83	0	1.9	n.a.	n.a.	2.6	0.4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1.6	3.4	n.a.
Manufacturing												
Women's earnings/men's earnings 89	66.5	64.1	n.a.	n.a.	65	55.1	66.2	n.a.	n.a.	55	63.7	71.5
Difference 89-83	-0.2	1.4	n.a.	n.a.	2.6	0.1	6.2			1.1	2.8	n.a.

Analysis to tables 14 and 15.

Table 14 shows, for each Member State, the hourly earnings of women as a percentage of men's for the period 1972 to 1987. In 1977 the UK percentage rose to 71.6% (possibly due to the introduction of the EPA (1970) and SDA (1975), but since has remained mostly in the region of 69%. After the initial impact of the EPA, women's earnings appear to stabilise throughout the EC. Table 15 (1983 to 1989), shows that throughout the EC, there has scarcely been any improvement, for industry as a whole, in women's wages relative to men's, and none whatsoever for British women: women's wages remaining at 68.85% of men's.

Table 16 EC: persons in employment, working part-time, by Member State and sex: 1986.

Source: Women of Europe 30 1989, p58.

Member State	Males	Females	Married women
Belgium	2.1	22.6	24.9
Denmark	8.7	41.9	49.4
Germany	2.1	29.8	43.9
Greece	3.4	10.4	11.1
Spain	-	-	-
France	3.4	23.2	26.5
Ireland	2.5	14.2	24.6
Italy	2.8	9.5	10.6
Luxembourg	1.9	15.5	23.3
The Netherlands	-	-	-
Portugal	3.4	10.0	10.8
United Kingdom	4.6	45.0	54.1

Table 17 ESF Budget allocations specifically to women: 1978; 1979; 1980; 1987.

Compiled from Women of Europe Supplement 7/82.
ECUs in thousands.

	1978			1979			1980		
	appns.	women	ECUs	appns.	women	ECUs	appns.	women	ECUs
Belgium	1	30	6.6	1	21	6	2	165	890
Denmark	1	1,500	445.6	1	1,230	431	*	*	*
France	14	7,669	4792.2	14	6,055	11830	7	4,469	14080
Germany	2	45	65.6	26	3,370	2347	2	3,055	3670
Ireland	1	12	6.9	5	162	232	1	281	230
Italy	2	930	2053.1	5	1,680	2376	7	1,798	2360
Netherlands	1	2,000	301.7	2	2,380	448	1	741	170
U.K.	1	39	18.8	2	741	678	1	68	100
Total	23	12,225	7690.5	56	15,639	18348	21*	10,577*	21500*

* no figures given for Denmark for 1980, therefore the totals under-represent the numbers of applications, women trained and ECUs allocated for that year.

ESF grants by sex and Member State 1987.

Taken from Women of Europe 30/89, (table 5.7) p107.

	projects	women	men	total	women as % of total
Belgium	291	15,637	18,854	34,491	45.34
Denmark	55	10,124	10,449	20,573	49.21
Germany	272	38,167	42,813	80.980	47.13
Greece	711	107,394	155,879	263,273	40.79
Spain	638	211,590	454,137	665,727	31.78
France	638	95,490	131,415	226,905	42.08
Ireland	113	69,874	91,365	161,239	43.34
Italy	935	197,872	332,168	530,040	37.33
Luxembourg	9	1,339	2,901	4,240	31.58
Netherlands	386	8,055	15,947	24,002	33.56
Portugal	1146	112,207	175,547	287,754	38.99
United Kingdom	1789	354,456	455,874	810,303	43.74
EC total	6983	1,222,205	1,887,322	3,109,527	39.31

Table 18 Structural Funds allocation - Objectives 3 and 4: 1990-1992.

Compiled from COM(90)516.

Allocation of Structural Funds to objectives 3 and 4 to those regions not allocated objective 1 status (ie those 'lagging behind in development').

	Million ECUs	Million £	% of total
Total allocation	60,315	39,808	
Objectives 3 & 4	4,020	2,653	6.5
Programmes for women	239	158	0.4 *

* this allocation to women represents 5.8% of the allocation to objectives 3/4

Table 19 General labour market trends in the EC: key employment indicators in the Community.

Source: EC 1992c *Employment in Europe 1992*. p40.

Units : Millions
Unless otherwise specified

	1965	1975	1985	1988	1990	1991
Total						
Total population	293.2	312.4	321.9	324.2	328.0	328.7
Population of working-age (15–64)	188.0	197.9	215.8	218.6	220.7	221.2
Total employment	122.6	124.3	125.3	130.5	135.0	135.2
Ratio of employment to working-age population (%)	65.2	62.8	58.1	59.7	61.2	61.1
Total unemployment	2.6	5.3	14.9	13.9	12.1	12.9
Unemployment rate (%)	2.1	4.1	10.8	9.8	8.3	8.8
Youth (<25) unemployment rate (%)			23.1	19.6	16.6	17.5
Employment in agriculture	20.1	13.9	10.4	9.4	8.6	8.4
Employment in industry	49.5	48.3	41.1	41.5	42.9	42.3
Employment in services	53.1	62.2	73.8	79.3	83.1	84.2
Share of employment in agriculture (%)	16.4	11.2	8.3	7.2	6.4	6.2
Share of employment in industry (%)	40.4	38.8	32.8	31.8	31.8	31.3
Share of employment in services (%)	43.3	50.0	58.9	60.7	61.5	62.3
Men						
Total population	142.3	152.0	156.5	157.9	159.8	160.3
Total employment	83.0	81.9	78.7	80.4	82.1	81.8
Total unemployment		3.3	8.0	6.8	5.7	6.3
Unemployment rate (%)			9.4	7.9	6.6	7.3
Youth (<25) unemployment rate (%)			21.4	17.3	14.6	16.1
Employment in agriculture	13.3	9.1	6.8	6.1	5.6	5.4
Employment in industry	38.0	37.1	31.8	31.8	32.8	32.3
Employment in services	31.6	35.7	40.1	42.3	43.7	44.1
Share of employment in agriculture (%)	16.0	11.1	8.6	7.6	6.8	6.5
Share of employment in industry (%)	45.8	45.3	40.4	39.6	39.8	39.4
Share of employment in services (%)	38.0	43.6	51.6	52.5	53.2	53.8
Women						
Total population	151.0	160.2	165.3	166.3	168.1	168.6
Total employment	39.6	42.5	46.6	50.1	52.5	53.2
Total unemployment		2.3	6.9	7.1	6.4	6.6
Unemployment rate (%)			12.9	12.6	10.8	11.0
Youth (<25) unemployment rate (%)			25.0	22.2	18.9	19.1
Employment in agriculture	6.8	4.8	3.6	3.3	3.0	2.9
Employment in industry	11.5	11.2	9.4	9.7	10.1	10.0
Employment in services	21.5	26.5	33.4	37.0	39.4	40.3
Share of employment in agriculture (%)	17.2	11.3	7.7	6.5	5.7	5.5
Share of employment in industry (%)	29.0	26.4	20.2	19.3	19.2	18.8
Share of employment in services (%)	54.2	62.4	71.7	73.9	74.8	75.5

Table 20 General labour market trends in the EC: Occupational development of the working population: 1985-2000.

Source: Social Europe no 3/86c, p29.

Occupational group	% of working population in 1982	% of working population in 2000
Farmers	6.9	3.5
Engineers and technicians	4.9	9
Skilled workers	24.4	24
Unskilled workers	15.4	11
Middle and upper management in the tertiary sector	9.5	12
White collar workers in firms and the public administration	14.8	12
Trade employees and self-employed	6.6	5.5
Health and social welfare	5.2	7
Consumer-related services	3.7	4.5
Education and training	5.2	7
Professions	1.1	2
Occupations in information & arts	0.5	0.7
Policemen, military	1.8	1.3
Total	100	100

Table 21 Unemployment in the EC and elsewhere: 1970-1991.

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992.* p23.

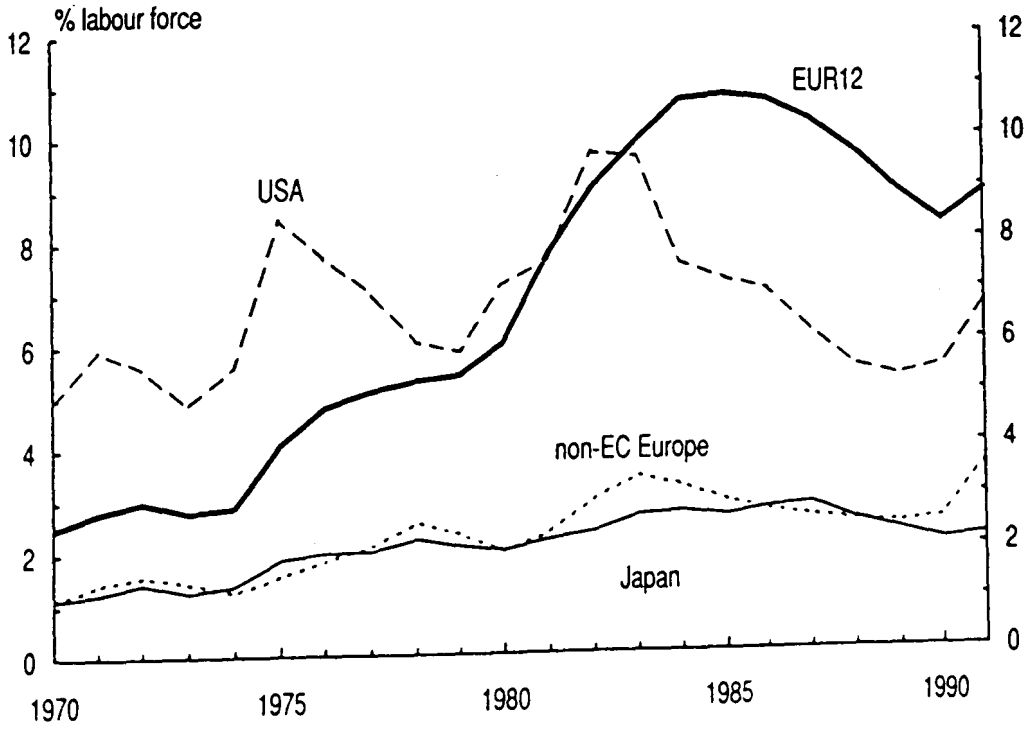


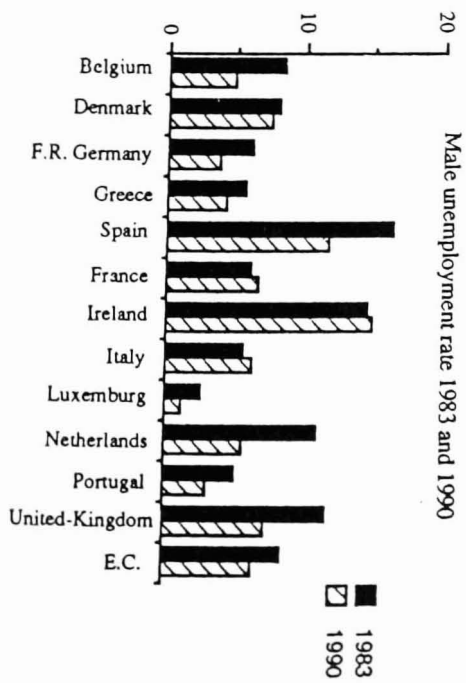
Table 22 Comparison of unemployment rates between Member States: 1984-1988.

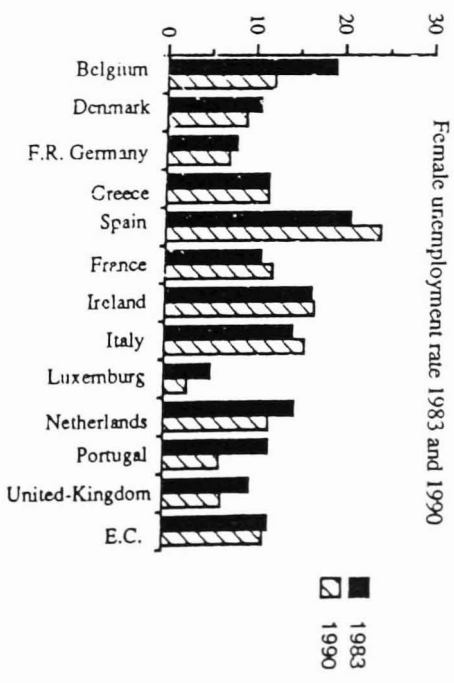
Source: Women of Europe 30, 1989, p85.

	B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC
FEMALES													
1984	19,4	10,4	8,6	13,9	23,4	12,5	18,1	15,5	4,3	15,0	12,1	10,7	12,9
1985	18,5	9,3	8,8	13,1	25,3	12,7	20,0	15,5	4,4	12,5	11,7	11,0	13,0
1986	18,7	7,6	8,2	12,8	25,3	12,8	19,8	16,8	4,1	13,4	11,0	11,0	13,1
1987	18,2	7,1	8,0	12,4	27,6	13,4	19,2	15,8	4,1	14,5	9,2	10,1	13,0
1988	17,1	7,6	8,1	13,2	27,8	13,1	19,3	16,8	3,3	14,8	8,0	8,2	12,9
MALES													
1984	8,5	8,0	6,2	6,8	19,5	7,9	16,5	6,3	2,4	11,1	5,8	12,0	9,5
1985	7,6	6,1	6,3	6,3	20,4	8,5	17,8	6,2	2,2	9,3	6,3	11,8	9,5
1986	7,6	4,2	5,5	5,6	19,4	8,5	17,5	7,1	1,9	8,6	6,3	11,9	9,3
1987	7,5	4,8	5,3	5,6	17,0	8,3	17,4	7,0	1,9	7,7	5,0	11,0	8,8
1988	6,8	5,4	5,3	5,8	15,3	7,9	16,7	7,2	1,6	7,5	3,9	9,1	8,1
FEMALES AND MALES													
1984	12,6	9,1	7,1	9,3	20,6	9,9	17,0	9,5	3,0	12,5	8,4	11,4	10,8
1985	11,7	7,6	7,3	8,7	21,9	10,3	18,5	9,4	3,0	10,4	8,5	11,5	10,9
1986	11,8	5,8	6,5	8,2	21,2	10,4	18,3	10,6	2,7	10,3	8,3	11,5	10,8
1987	11,6	5,8	6,4	8,0	20,5	10,5	18,0	10,1	2,7	10,2	6,8	10,6	10,4
1988	10,8	6,4	6,4	8,5	19,6	10,2	17,6	10,6	2,2	10,3	5,6	8,7	10,0

Table 23 Unemployment in the EC: evolution of unemployment rates between 1983 and 1990.

Source: Women of Europe 36, 1992, p25.





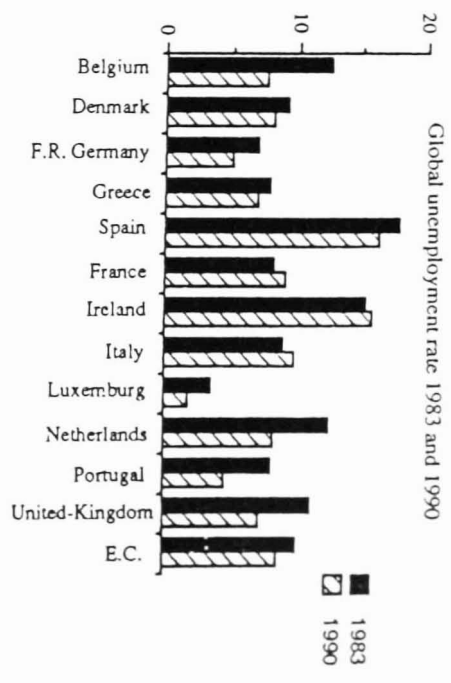


Table 24 Unemployment rates in the UK: 1969-1989.

Source: compiled from OECD 1991, p442/3. Shown as thousands.

	Men	Women	Total
1969	442	76	518
1970	475	80	555
1971	606	90	696
1972	666	111	778
1973	476	81	557
1974	456	72	528
1975	698	140	838
1976	986	280	1266
1977	1021	339	1359
1978	986	357	1343
1979	888	346	1234
1980	1072	441	1513
1981	1775	620	2395
1982	2043	727	2770
1983	2145	839	2984
1984	2120	910	3030
1985	2197	982	3179
1986	2217	1012	3229
1987	2023	882	2905
1988	1632	709	2341
1989	1257	487	1743

Table 25 The very-long-term unemployed in the EC.

Source: compiled from EC 1988a, *Very-long-term unemployment*. p5.

EC (10)	1983	1986
Unemployed	12 million	13 million
VLTU	2 million	3 million

United Kingdom	1981	1987
VLTU	219,648	811,412 *
VLTU as % of total unemployed	8%	28%

* this represents an increase of 269% over the 6 year period.

Table 26 Unemployment in the EC: activity rates for men and women by level of educational attainment: 1988.

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992*. p132.

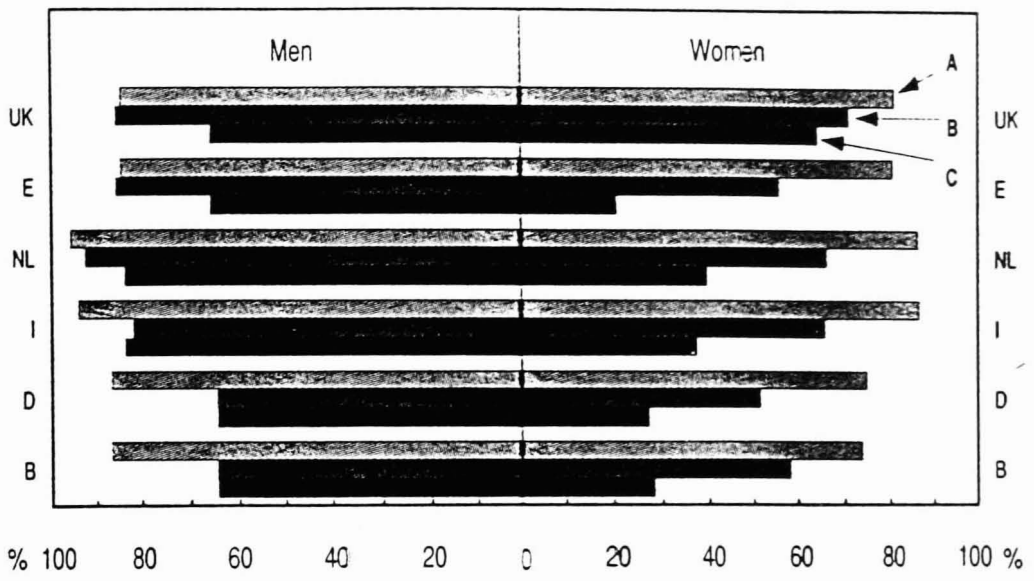


Table 27 Unemployment in the EC by previous economic activity.

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992*. p34.

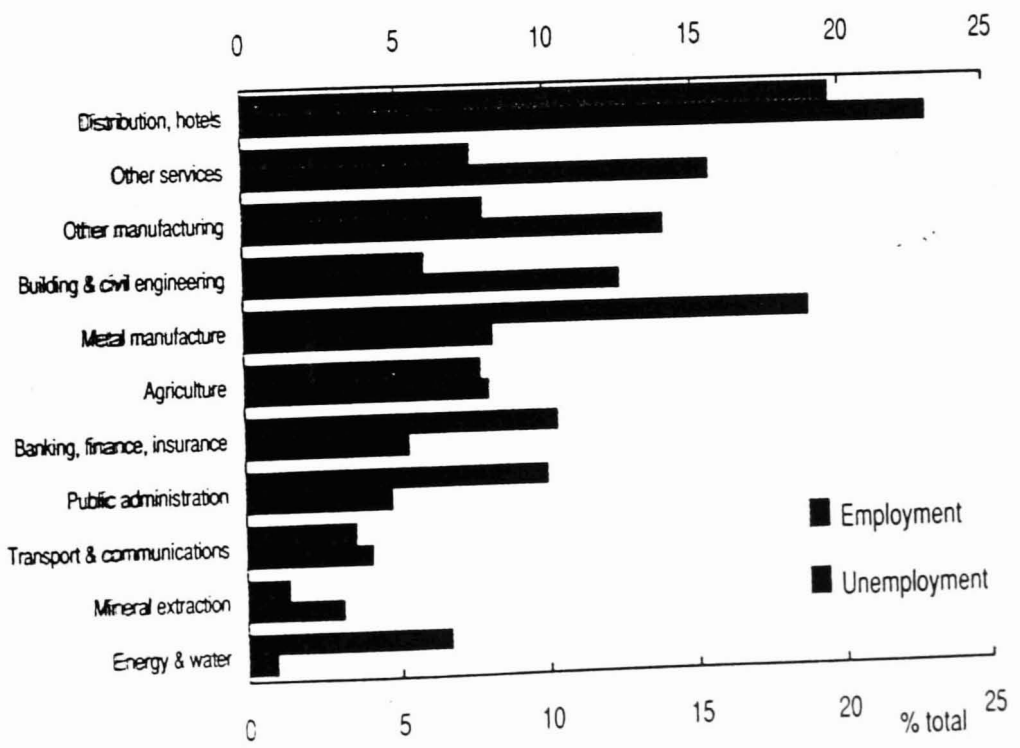


Table 28 UK construction industry: self employment as percentage of total employment: 1950-1985.

Source: EC 1987c, *New forms and new areas of employment growth: UK.* p17.

Thousands

Share of Total Employment (%)

	1950	1970	1980	1985
Primary and energy	15.3	20.6	19.0	22.3
Manufacturing	3.0	1.7	1.9	3.4
Construction	11.0	20.0	22.1	34.2
Marketed services	14.6	13.6	12.2	15.1
Public services	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Whole economy	8.6	8.2	8.0	11.0

Table 29 Construction craft occupations: Changes in occupational employment 1971-1990.

Source: compiled from EC 1987c, *New forms and new areas of employment growth: UK.* p42-4.

Thousands, and percentage of total.

1971	1981	1984	1990
817 3.4%	751 3.1%	832 3.5%	847 3.6%

Table 30 UK construction industry: changes and percentage growth: 1971-1981.

Source: EC 1987c, *New forms and new areas of employment growth: UK.* p48-9.

Thousands.

	Total Employment including self employment 1971	1981	Net change 1971-1981	% Growth 1971-81
Woodworkers, pattern makers:	318.91	281.90	-37.01	-11.61
Plumbers, heating & ventilating fitters, gas fitters:	183.49	159.19	-24.30	-13.24
All other in construction, mining, quarrying, well-drilling etc:	1.51	1.28	- 0.23	-15.23
Building & construction workers:	54.51	40.65	-13.86	-25.43
General labourers:	43.41	25.42	-17.99	-41.44

Table 31 UK construction industry: changes in numbers of employees: 1971, 1981 and 1985.

Source: EC 1987c, *New forms and new areas of employment growth: UK.* p103.

Construction, repair or demolition of buildings

(a)	Number of employees:
1971	651,000
1981	621,000
1985	510,000

(b)	Annual growth rate (%)	Net change (000's)
1971-1981	-0.5	-30
1981-1985	-4.8	-111

Table 32 UK: new technology occupations: average rates of pay: men and women: 1992.

Source: compiled from DE 1992, *New earnings survey*. Tables 8 and 9: analysis of pay by occupation: men and women on full time adult rates of pay.

	Men		Women	
	average		average	
	hourly	weekly	hourly	weekly
	£	£	£	£
Electrical engineers	13.35	527	**	
Electronic engineers	12.25	473	**	
Software engineers	12.56	476	**	
Engineers and technologists *	11.24	442	9.76	374
Electrical and electronic technicians	8.26	353	**	
Computer analysts and programmers	10.85	413	10.32	384
Computer operators, data processing operators, other office machine operators	8.04	318	5.47	206

** no such occupational listing appears in the tables for women.
* this is a general group heading for all engineers and technicians.

Table 33 EC: new technologies: employment: 1981-1987.

Source: EC 1989a, *Employment in Europe 1989*. p133.

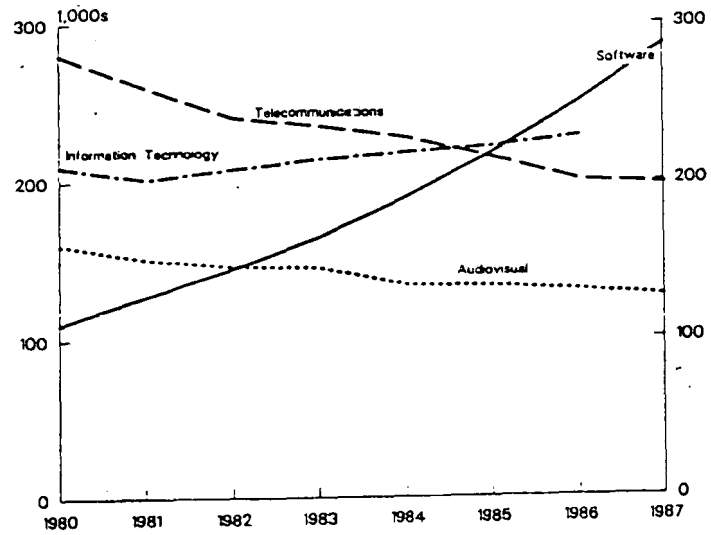


Table 34 Women in the EC labour market: labour force participation rates by Member States: 1970-1986.

Source: Women of Europe 30/1989. p38.

		B	DK	D	GR	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	P	UK	EC
FEMALES														
	1970	24,9	36,9	30,3	...	18,2	29,4	19,7	21,9	21,7	18,9	...	31,2	...
	1980	30,8	45,3	32,0	21,1	20,0	33,8	20,5	25,7	26,4	23,7	34,6	36,4	30,0
[1]	1986	33,1	50,9	34,3	27,3	21,9	35,6	21,9	28,8	30,2	27,6	35,1	39,0	32,5
MALES														
	1970	55,1	59,8	59,5	...	59,8	55,6	55,9	56,5	59,0	54,7	...	70,7	...
	1980	54,1	58,8	57,5	54,9	52,6	53,4	52,7	54,6	57,9	52,7	55,0	59,6	55,6
[1]	1986	52,6	62,5	58,5	55,2	51,9	51,5	51,8	55,3	56,1	52,9	54,1	59,4	55,4

Table 35 Women in the EC labour market: labour force participation rates by Member States: 1989.

Source: EOC 1992, *Women's employment: Britain in the SEM.* p159

% or % p.a.

Countries	*Years*	*Mean annual growth rate of labour force participation*		*Labour force participation rates of women*
		Women	*Men*	*1989*
Belgium	81/89	1.30	–0.59	51.6
Denmark	81/89	1.27	0.64	77.3
Germany	81/89	1.08	0.35	54.5
Greece	81/89	2.78	–0.01	43.3
Spain	81/89	3.79	0.36	39.9
France	81/89	1.22	–0.15	56.2
Ireland	81/89	0.88	–0.09	37.5
Italy	81/89	1.94	0.24	44.3
Luxembourg	81/89	2.63	1.30	49.6
Netherlands	81/89	4.74	0.80	52.0
Portugal	81/89	1.49	0.59	59.7
United Kingdom	81/89	2.04	–0.04	66.8

Table 36 Women in the EC labour market: activity rates: men and women aged 15-24: 1986 and 1990.

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992*. p128.

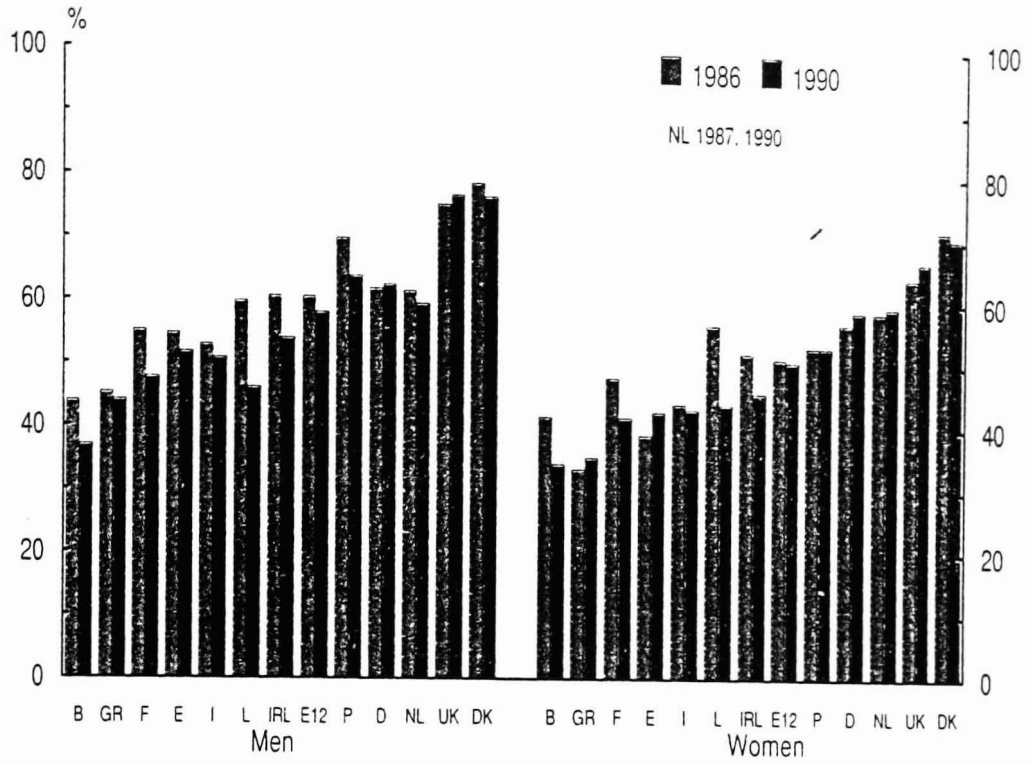


Table 37 Women in the EC labour market: activity rates: men and women aged 25-49: 1986 and 1990.

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992*. p129.

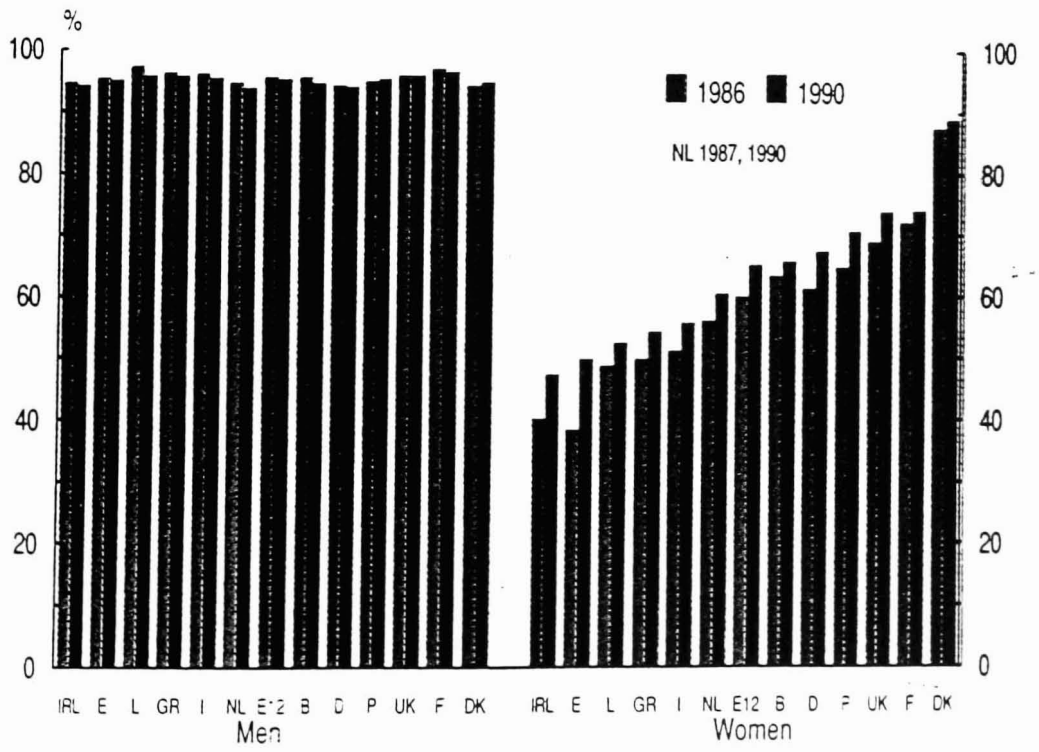


Table 38 Women in the UK labour market: activity rates by age group: 1983 and 1990.

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992*, p127.

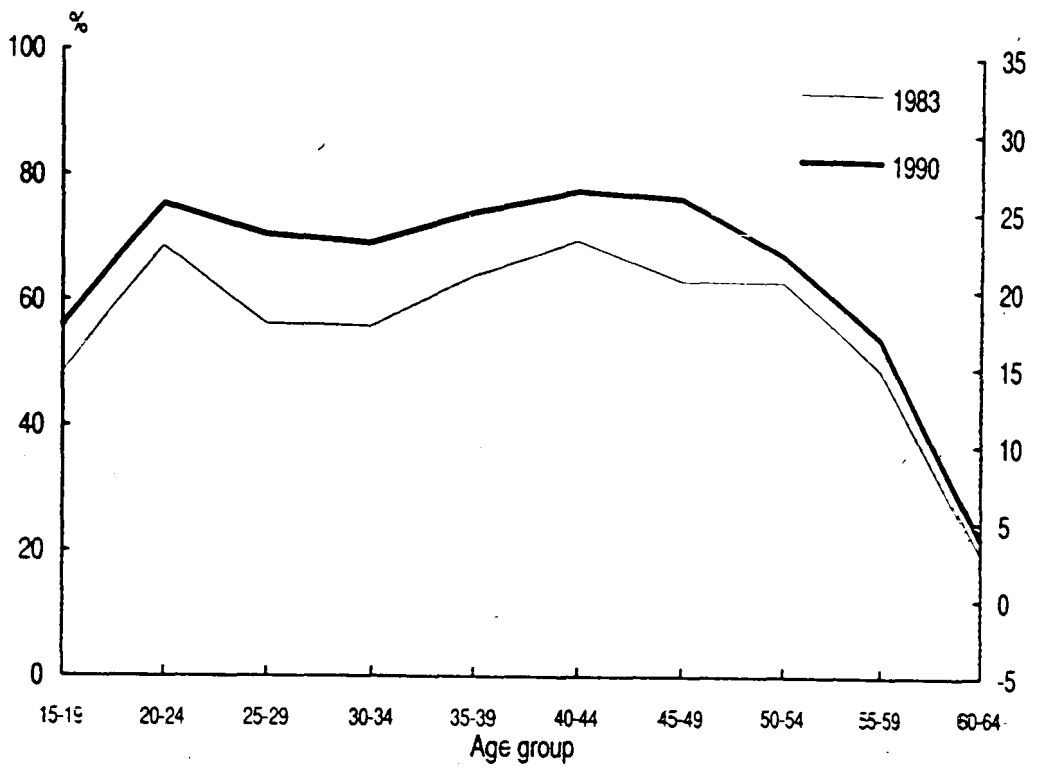


Table 39 Employment indicators for the EC: men and women 1965-1991.

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992*, p40. Shown as millions.

	1965	1975	1985	1988	1990	1991
Total population	293	312	322	324	328	329
Men	142	152	157	158	160	160
Women	151	160	165	166	168	169
Total employment	123	124	125	131	135	135
Men	83	82	79	80	82	82
Women	40	42	46	51	53	53
Agriculture: total	20	14	10	9	9	8
Men	13	9	6	6	6	5
Women	7	5	4	3	3	3
Industry: total	50	48	41	42	43	42
Men	38	37	32	32	33	32
Women	12	11	9	10	10	10
Services: total	53	62	74	80	83	84
Men	32	36	41	43	43	44
Women	21	26	33	37	40	40

Table 40 Women in the EC labour market: employment by sector: 1987.

Source: EC 1989a, *Employment in Europe 1989*. p85.

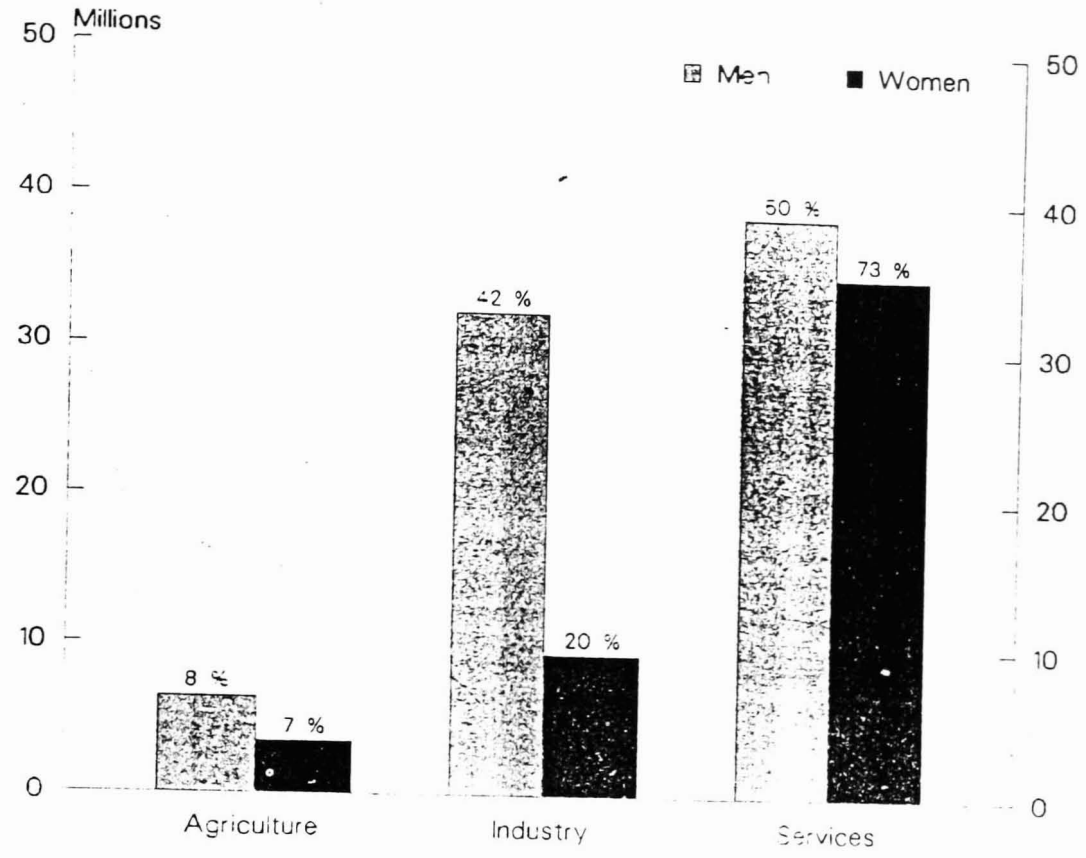


Table 41 Women in the UK labour market: as a percentage of employees by industry: 1950-1985.

Source: EC 1987c, *New forms and new areas of employment growth: UK*. p15.

	Share of Total Employment (%)			
	1950	1970	1980	1985
Primary and energy	9.7	13.9	16.2	16.3
Manufacturing	32.5	30.1	29.2	28.5
Construction	2.4	5.1	7.4	9.1
Marketed services	37.3	42.7	46.4	48.5
Public services	49.3	56.9	61.8	62.8
Whole economy	31.6	36.2	40.3	42.5

Table 42 Women in the UK labour market: as employees by industry: 1983-1991.

Source: Compiled from Department of Employment *Labour force surveys 1983-1991.*

	1983 Th(%)	1984 Th(%)	1985 Th(%)	1986 Th(%)	1987 Th(%)	1988 Th(%)	1989 Th(%)	1990 Th(%)	1 Th
Agri. forestry, fishing	80(1)	76(1)	79(1)	69(1)	76(1)	79(1)	69(1)	72(1)	66
Energy and water supply	100(1)	103(1)	96(1)	80(1)	80(1)	87(1)	85(1)	84(1)	100
Extration (other than fuels) & Manuf metals, minerals, chems.	186(2)	179(2)	168(2)	166(2)	169(2)	174(2)	191(2)	190(2)	185
Metals goods, eng. & vehicle	511(6)	530(6)	488(5)	521(6)	504(5)	534(6)	550(5)	538(5)	517
Other manufacturing	847(10)	878(10)	935(10)	866(10)	810(9)	849(9)	876(9)	846(8)	779
Construction	181(1)	141(2)	148(2)	142(2)	146(2)	146(2)	159(2)	189(2)	171
Dist. Hotels, catering, repairs	2247(26)	2282(25)	2213(24)	2278(25)	2349(25)	2421(25)	2515(25)	2514(24)	2487
Transport, communication	273(3)	269(3)	282(3)	268(3)	297(3)	307(3)	362(4)	346(3)	353
Banking,finance,ins.,	815(9)	861(10)	937(10)	994(11)	1059(11)	1133(12)	1248(12)	1313(13)	1278
Other services	3491(40)	3614(40)	3696(41)	3803(41)	3847(41)	3951(41)	4122(41)	4207(41)	4237
No reply etc	45(1)	45(0)	14(0)	- -	19(0)	11(0)	10(0)	10(0)	51
All Industries	8,714	8,980	9,057	9,214	9,356	9,692	10,187	10,309	10,2

Analysis to Table 42.

These *Surveys* show that within the UK, over this period, the distribution of women throughout the industries stays fairly constant. The main movements are a decline of 2% in 'other manufacturing', and in 'distribution, hotels and catering'. 'Banking, finance and insurance' rises 3% up to 1991, but as discussed in the main text of Chapter 6, the combined effects of new technology and the recession, have resulted in a more recent decline in this area. The percentage of women employed in the construction industry remains constant at 2% from 1984 to 1991.

Table 43 Women in the UK labour market: as a proportion of industry divisions: 1984-1991.

Source: Department of Employment: *Labour Force Survey 1991*. p18.

Industry division	Proportion who were women							
	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	19
0 Agriculture, forestry and fishing	21	23	20	22	23	20	23	22
1 Energy and water supply industry	15	14	13	14	16	15	15	18
2 Extraction of minerals and ores, other than fuels, manufacture of metals, mineral products and chemicals	23	23	22	23	23	24	25	24
3 Metal goods, engineering and vehicle industries	21	20	21	21	21	22	21	22
4 Other manufacturing industries	39	40	39	38	38	38	39	38
5 Construction	8	9	9	9	9	9	10	10
6 Distribution, hotel and catering, repairs	54	53	54	54	53	53	53	53
7 Transport and communications	20	21	20	21	21	23	23	23
8 Banking, finance and insurance, business services and leasing	47	46	47	48	48	49	48	48
9 Other services	61	62	62	62	63	63	64	64
All industries*	**41**	**42**	**42**	**43**	**43**	**43**	**43**	**44**

* *Excludes those on Government employment and training schemes.*

This Table shows that the two divisions of greatest growth for women (3%) were the 'energy and water supply industry' and 'other services' which consistently remained the industry with the highest proportion of women employees (64% in 1991). Equally consistently the 'construction' industry has the lowest proportion (10% in 1991). From 1979 to 1989, the numbers of women in employment in the UK increased by 17%. This increase was restricted to non-manual work; the number of women in manual work actually fell during this period by 183,000. The largest increases within this non-manual work were in the 'clerical and related occupations' (by 426,000), and 'professional' - especially in areas of education, welfare and health, (by 424,000). (EOC 1991)

Table 44 Women in the EC labour market: part-time employment: men and women: 1985-1990.

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992*. p142.

Table 45 EC labour market: part-time employment: by sex and marital status of women: 1986.

Source: Women of Europe 30, 1989. p58. Shown as percentage.

Member State	Males	Females	Married women
Belgium	2.1	22.6	24.9
Denmark	8.7	41.9	49.4
Germany	2.1	29.8	43.9
Greece	3.4	10.4	11.1
Spain	-	-	-
France	3.4	23.2	26.5
Ireland	2.5	14.2	24.6
Italy	2.8	9.5	10.6
Luxembourg	1.9	15.5	23.3
The Netherlands	-	-	-
Portugal	3.4	10.0	10.8
United Kingdom	4.6	45.0	54.1

Table 46 Women in the UK labour market: as a percentage by occupation: 1984-1990.

Source: Department of Employment, *Labour force survey 1991*, p??

Occupation group		Proportion who were women						
		1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
I	Professional and related supporting management and administration	22	23	23	24	26	28	29
II	Professional and related in education, welfare and health	66	65	66	67	67	68	67
III	Literary, artistic sports	40	37	37	40	40	40	41
IV	Professional and related in science, engineering, technology and related fields	9	7	7	10	11	13	12
V	Management	24	25	25	27	26	27	28
VI	Clerical and related	76	77	78	77	76	78	78
VII	Selling	61	60	60	61	59	60	60
VIII	Security and protective service	10	10	10	10	12	11	11
IX	Catering, cleaning, hairdressing and other personal service	81	79	80	81	80	79	80
X	Farming, fishing and related	17	17	15	19	21	19	22
XI	Processing, making, repairing and related (excluding metal and electrical)	31	30	31	29	29	28	29
XII	Processing, making, repairing and related (metal and electrical)	4	4	4	4	5	5	5
XIII	Painting, repetitive assembling, product inspecting, packaging and related	42	43	43	42	41	40	40
XIV	Construction and mining NIE	1	1	0	1	0	0	1
IV	Transport operating, materials moving and storing	5	4	4	5	6	6	6
XVI	Miscellaneous	7	10	9	9	10	9	8
All occupations*		41	42	42	42	43	43	43

* *Excludes those on Government employment and training schemes.*

Despite this upward move of some exceptional women in the 'professional and managerial' classifications, it does not alter the fact that the occupational groups with a consistently high percentage of women remain the traditional low-paid and low status ones. For instance, 'catering, cleaning, hairdressing and other personal services (79-81%); 'clerical and related' (76-78%); 'professional and related, welfare and health' (65-68%); selling (59-61%). Of these, 'clerical' and 'selling' are both, in the early 1990s, being adversely affected by the combination of new technology and economic recession.

Table 47 UK construction industry: employees: men and women: 1983-1991.

Source: compiled from Department of Employment, *Labour force surveys 1984-1991.* Shown as thousands.

	Men		Women	
1983	1,103	9%	181	1%
1984	1,100	9%	141	2%
1985	1,020	9%	148	2%
1986	949	8%	142	2%
1987	999	9%	146	2%
1988	973	8%	146	2%
1989	1,013	9%	159	2%
1990	1,014	8%	189	2%
1991	943	8%	171	2%

Table 48 UK construction industry: manual and non-manual occupations: pay differentials: 1992.

Source: Department of Employment, *New earnings survey 1992.* Compiled from Tables 4 and 5.

	Men		Women	
	average		average	
	hourly	weekly	hourly	weekly
	£	£	£	£
Manual work:				
Construction industry:	5.95	275	**	
General construction & demolition work:	5.83	259	**	
Construction & repair of buildings:	5.84	261	**	
Installation of fixtures & fittings:	6.28	295	**	
Non-Manual:				
Construction industry:	9.61	390	5.44	207
General construction & demolition work:	9.90	399	5.69	215
Construction & repair of buildings:	9.30	372	5.24	194
Installation of fixtures & fittings:	9.12	377	**	

** no such occupational listing appears in the tables for women.

Table 49 Women in the UK labour market: by occupationally defined social class: 1986-1991.

Source: Department of Employment, *Labour force survey, 1991*. p16.

Social class	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Professional	1	1	2	2	2	3
Intermediate	23	23	24	24	25	26
Skilled non-manual	40	40	40	40	40	38
Skilled manual	9	8	9	8	8	8
Partly skilled	20	19	19	19	18	16
Unskilled	8	7	7	6	6	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

This Table continues this class related analysis of occupational employment. It shows that the proportion of women in the 'professional' and 'intermediate' sectors increased by between 2 and 3 percent from 1986 to 1991. Over the same period those women in occupations classed as partly skilled or unskilled fell by 1% (unskilled) and 4% (partly skilled).

Table 50 Hierarchical segregation: UK: by ethnic group: manual and non-manual job levels: 1985.

Source: Sarre (1989b), *Race and the class structure.* p146.

	Professional, employer, management.	Other non-manual.	Skilled manual & Foreman.	Semi-skilled manual.	Unskilled manual.
White					
Men	19	23	42	13	3
Women	7	55	5	21	11
West Indian					
Men	5	10	48	26	9
Women	1	52	4	36	7
Asian					
Men	13	13	33	34	6
Women	6	42	6	44	2
Indian					
Men	11	13	34	36	5
Women	5	35	8	50	1
African Asian					
Men	22	21	31	22	3
Women	7	52	3	36	3

Table 51 Hierarchical segregation: EC: manufacturing industry: gendered pay differentials: 1973, 1979 and 1988.

Source: EOC 1992, *Women's employment: Britain in the SEM.* p167.

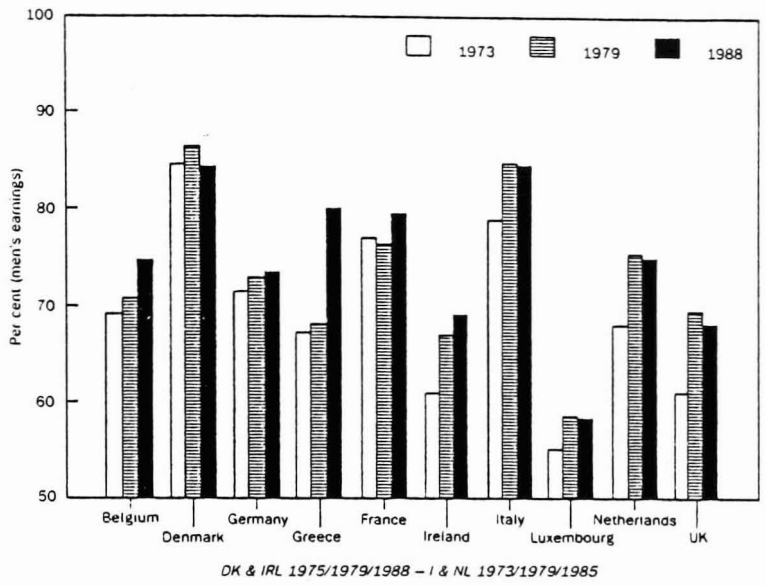


Table 52 Hierarchical segregation: EC: manufacturing and food, drink & tobacco industries: gendered pay differentials: 1975, 1985 and 1991.

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992.* p149.

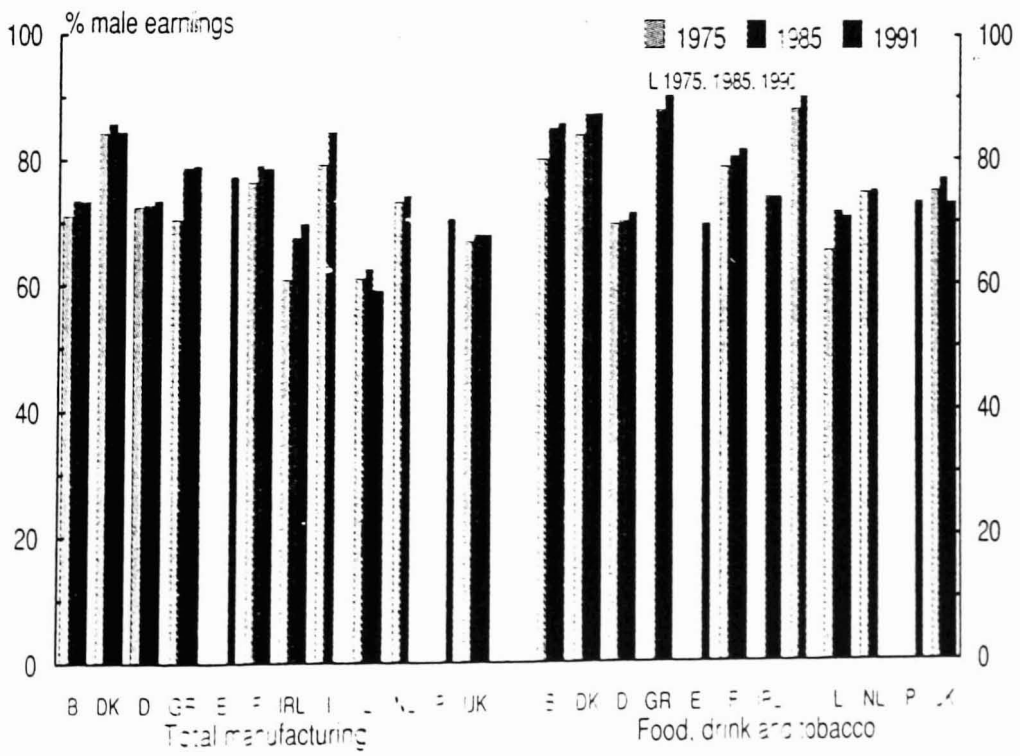


Table 53 Hierarchical segregation: EC: manufacturing and food, drink & tobacco industries: gendered pay differentials: 1985 and 1991.

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992*. p150.

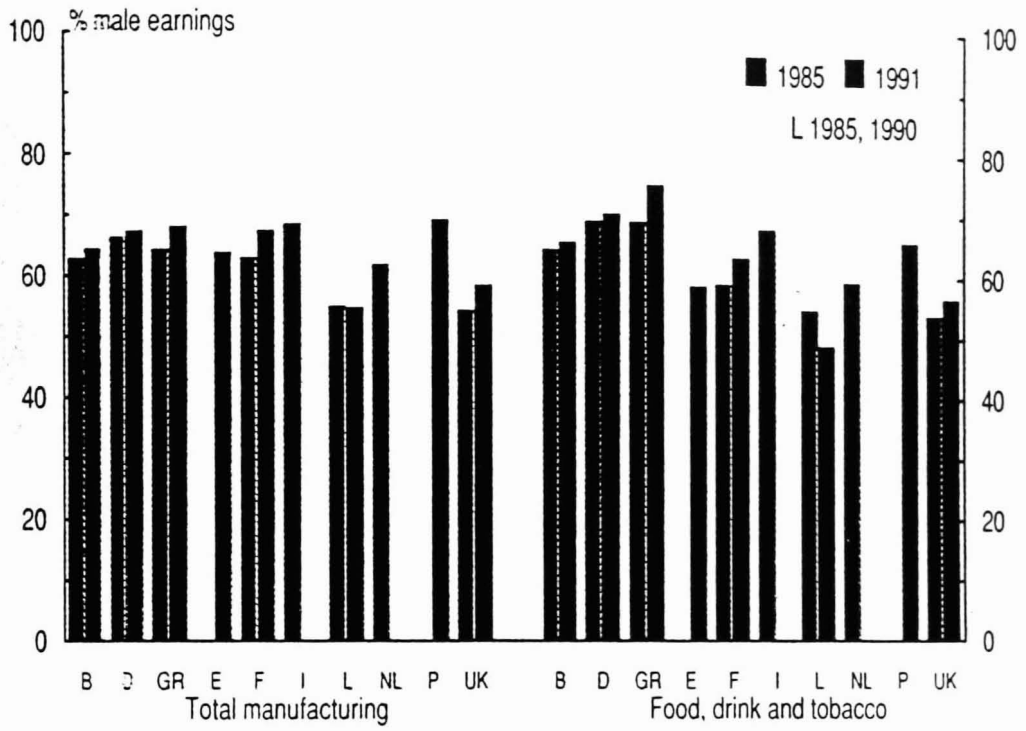


Table 54 Hierarchical segregation: EC: textiles & footwear/ clothing industries: gendered pay differentials: 1975, 1985 and 1991.

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992*. p150.

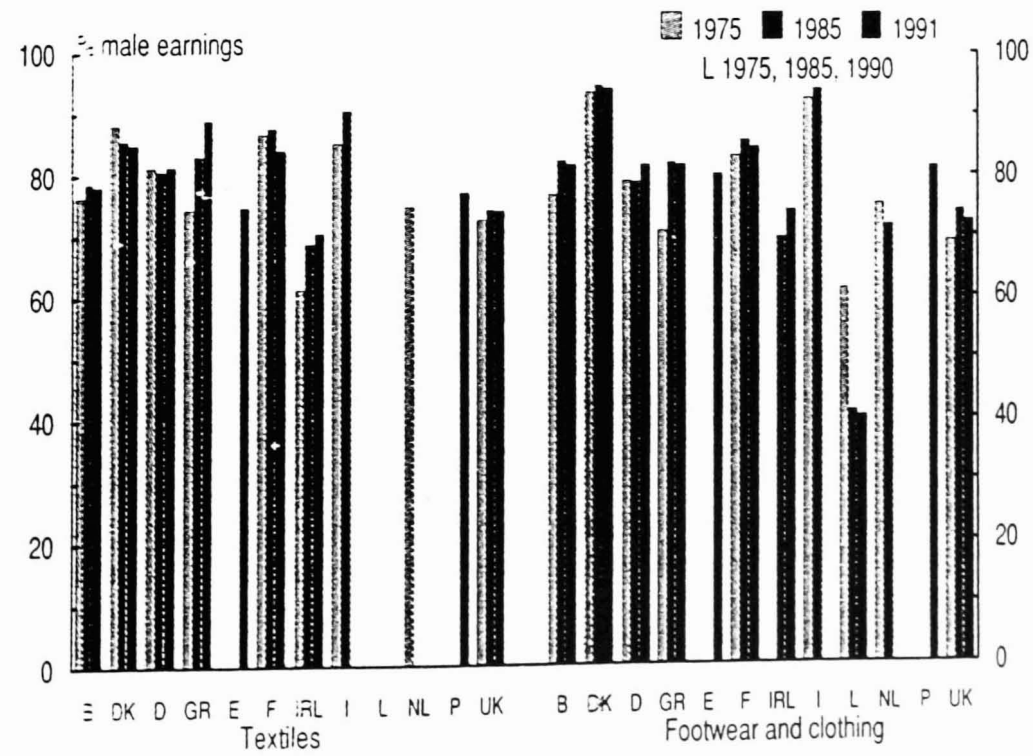
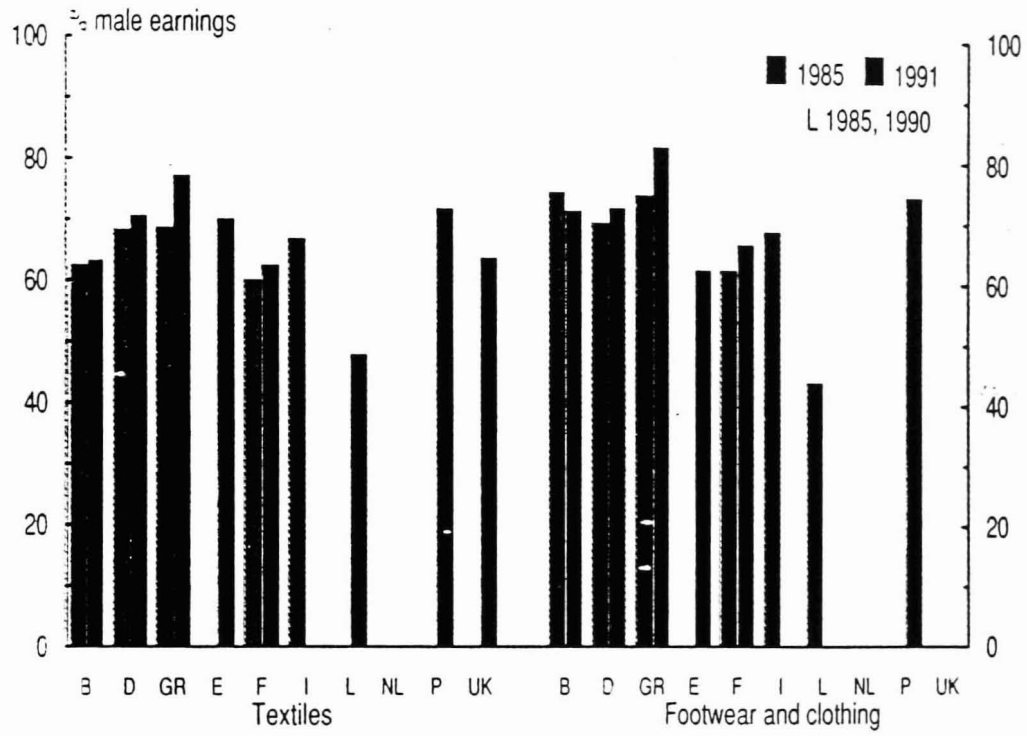


Table 55 Hierarchical segregation: EC: textiles & footwear/ clothing industries: gendered pay differentials: 1985 and 1991.

Source: EC 1992c, *Employment in Europe 1992*. p151.



Analaysis to Tables 52 to 55.

Tables 52 and 53 relate to total manufacturing and to the food drink and tobacco industries. Tables 54 and 55 relate to the textiles industry, and to the footwear and clothing industries. Tables 52 and 54 show the position for the years 1975, 1985 and 1991. And, clarifying the extent of the change over the more recent period, Tables 53 and 55 show the position for just 1985 and 1991. These Tables all show a definite and consistent gendered pay differential which is indicative of the occupational hierarchy, existing into the 1990s, between women and men.

Table 56 Hierarchical segregation: UK: women in management by industry: 1991.

Source: EOC, 1991, *Women and men in Britain 1991*. p16.

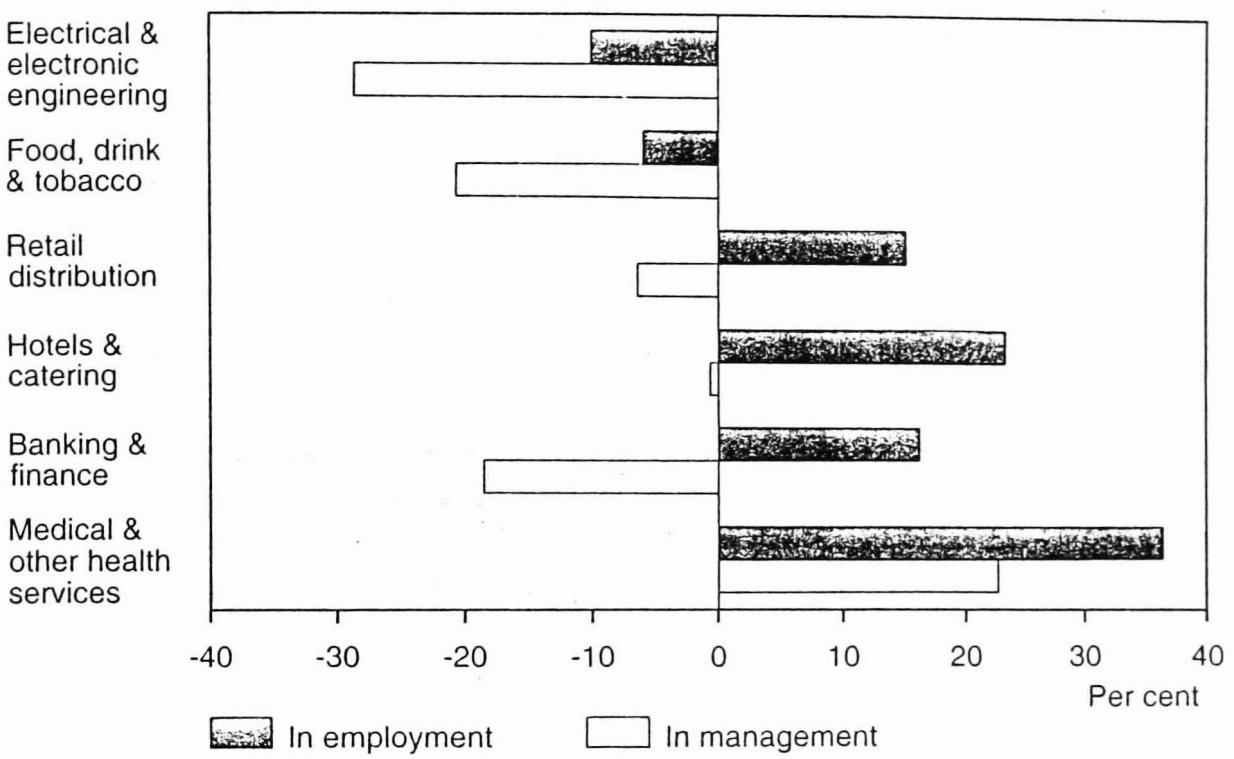


Table 57 Hierarchical segregation: EC: gendered pay differentials of manual workers in industry: 1972-1987.

	B BFR	DK DKR	D DM	GR DR	F FF	IRL IR£	I LIT	L LFR	NL HFL	UK UK£
FEMALES' EARNINGS AS % OF MALES'										
1972	68,42	...	69,65	68,18	78,67	...	76,29	62,50	64,64	60,26
1975	71,52	84,31	72,55	70,45	78,47	60,94	79,71	63,19	72,41	67,91
1977	70,98	86,50	72,81	69,23	77,43	62,13	84,64	65,02	73,48	71,60
1978	70,73	86,13	73,02	68,29	78,32	64,10	83,06	63,55	73,49	69,89
1979	70,27	86,36	72,69	68,00	78,29	66,96	84,12	61,88	72,29	70,83
1980	70,25	86,05	72,63	67,46	78,28	68,70	84,13	64,71	73,27	69,65
1981	71,59	85,77	72,78	66,88	79,48	67,20	84,87	63,35	72,64	69,96
1982	73,12	85,11	72,84	74,06	79,46	68,35	86,29	63,60	73,23	69,90
1983	73,97	85,47	72,45	74,60	80,10	68,35	87,19	65,19	74,00	69,46
1984	73,77	85,83	72,75	75,88	80,19	68,35	84,48	64,80	74,10	69,42
1985	74,52	85,83	72,99	78,79	80,76	67,30	83,91	66,13	73,55	69,31
1986	74,29	85,63	73,39	77,53	81,11	67,25	...	64,51	74,22	68,97
1987	75,31	85,62	73,67	78,68	80,76	67,35	...	65,27	...	69,51
MALES										
1972	95	...	8,04	22	7,83	...	873	104	6,9	0,78
1975	158	32,64	10,49	44	12,54	1,28	1 631	163	10,51	1,34
1977	193	39,19	11,99	65	16,53	1,69	2 500	203	12,48	1,62
1978	205	44,49	12,64	82	18,50	1,95	2 916	214	13,24	1,86
1979	222	50,43	13,33	100	20,77	2,27	3 413	223	14,04	2,16
1980	242	53,40	14,32	126	23,99	2,62	4 089	238	14,78	2,57
1981	264	59,17	15,10	160	27,53	3,14	5 063	251	15,57	2,83
1982	279	65,06	15,72	212	31,11	3,57	5 901	272	16,62	3,09
1983	292	67,67	16,26	252	35,07	3,95	6 822	293	16,92	3,34
1984	305	70,50	16,66	311	37,21	4,36	7 376	304	16,99	3,63
1985	314	74,74	17,33	363	39,34	4,77	8 160	313	17,39	3,91
1986	315	77,85	18,00	405	40,72	5,13	...	324	17,69	4,19
1987	320	86,07	18,65	441	42,52	5,33	...	334	...	4,46

Source: Women of Europe, 30, 1989. p60-62.

Table 58 Hierarchical segregation: UK: gendered pay differentials in top and bottom five occupations by industry - based on average hourly pay.

Source: Department of Employment, *New earnings survey 1992*. Compiled from Tables 4 and 5.

A1) Full-time manual workers: lowest paid occupations by hourly rate

	average hourly rate £	average weekly wage £
MEN		
Agriculture and horticulture:	4.11	203
Agriculture, forestry & fishing:	4.12	203
Public houses and bars:	4.14	169
Restaurants, snack bars, cafes & other eating places:	4.14	174
Cleaning services:	4.14	193
WOMEN		
Public houses and bars:	2.96	114
Restaurants, snack bars, cafes & other eating places:	3.44	130
Agriculture and horticulture:	3.60	152
Other dress industries:	3.60	143
Women & girls light outwear, lingerie & infants wear:	3.61	142

A2) Full-time manual workers: highest paid occupations by hourly rate

	average hourly rate £	average weekly wage £
MEN		
Mineral oil refining:	10.15	460
Mineral oil processing:	9.94	450
Printing & publishing of newspapers:	9.44	371
Air transport:	8.80	392
Banking & bill discounting:	8.79	365
WOMEN		
Air transport:	6.45	287
Drink & tobacco manufacturing:	5.81	224
Postal services & telecommunications:	5.70	243
Postal services:	5.59	239
Transport & communication:	5.39	244
Manufacture of motor vehicles & parts thereof:	5.39	218

B1) Full-time non-manual workers: lowest paid occupations by hourly rate

	average hourly rate £	average weekly wage £
MEN		
Repair & servicing of motor vehicles:	6.53	286
Retail distribution of household goods, hardware & ironmongery:	6.55	278
Agriculture, forestry & fishing:	6.79	309
Food retailing:	6.81	275
Retail distribution of motor vehicles & parts:	6.81	305
WOMEN		
Filling stations, (motor fuel & lubricants):	3.94	158
Dental practices:	4.36	160
Food retailing:	4.42	172
Bread & flour confectionery manufacturers:	4.43	174
Retail distribution of footwear & leather goods:	4.46	169

B2) Full-time non-manual workers: highest paid occupations by hourly rate

	average hourly rate £	average weekly wage £
MEN		
Mineral oil refining:	15.91	606
Mineral oil processing:	15.56	590
Extraction of mineral oil & natural gas:	15.55	633
Radio, television, theatre:	13.93	549
Legal services:	13.81	497
(6th: Electronic data processing:)	13.43	513
WOMEN		
School education (nursery, primary & secondary):	11.51	345
Education (general category):	10.48	332
Radio, television, theatre:	10.06	376
Extraction of mineral oil & natural gas:	9.03	339
Computer services:	8.88	333
Electronic data processing equipment:	8.80	338

Analysis of Table 58.

Within the very low paid occupations shown in this Table, a distinct gendered differential in pay is still evident. For instance, 'public houses and bars': the hourly rate for women is £2.96 compared with £4.14 for men. The average weekly rate in this occupation for women is £114 compared with £169 for men. This disparity is further reinforced by reference to the distribution of the pay. The top 10% of men earning over £283; the top 10% of women, over £156. The lowest 10% of men earn less than £102 per week; the 10% of women, less than £67. This means that 10% of women employed *full-time* in public houses and bars earn less than £67 per week - *gross*.

Manual work in 'restaurants, snack bars, cafes and other eating places' is also low-paid for both women and men: men's hourly rate is £4.14 (weekly average £174); women's £3.44 (weekly average £130).

Agriculture, forestry and fishing' is the lowest paid occupational area for men (£4.12 per hour; £203 weekly), but despite the predictable lower pay for women, the occupation is the *fourth* lowest for women: £3.60; £152 weekly.

The joint third lowest hourly paid occupation for men is 'cleaning services;: £4.14 per hour, £193 per week. Interestingly, 'cleaning services' is not shown as a category in the table for women's full-time manual work. The implication of this omission is that women cleaners are part-time, with part-time (that is even lower) rates of pay and working conditions.

The specific areas of low-pay for women which do not occur on the table for men are: 'other dress industries' £3.60 per hour (£143 weekly), and 'women and girls outwear' £3.61 per hour, £142 weekly.

At the other end of the manual-work table - the highest paid male occupations by industry were 'mineral oil refining' at £10.15 per hour (£460 weekly) and 'mineral oil processing' £9.94/£450. In

contrast to these rates of pay, the highest paid occupation shown for women was 'air transport' £6.45 per hour (£287 weekly): £173 per week less than the best paid manual work for men. 'Air transport' is the fourth highest occupation form men - and even then the rates of pay are considerably higher than those for women: £8.80 per hour, £392 weekly: over £100 more a week than women.

This distinct differential is also evident in the sub-table for non-manual workers. Significantly, and in comparison with the sub-table for manual workers, there is very little similarity between occupations for men and women - although retail in general and occupations related to the motor industry are shown for both. The lowest paid non-manual occupation for men is 'repair and servicing of motor vehicles' at £6.53 per hour (£286 weekly). The lowest paid non-manual occupation for women is 'filling stations - motor fuel and lubricants': £3.94 per hour (£158 weekly). The only occupation relating to men and women is 'food retailing': men £6.81/£275; women £4.42/£172 - that is £100 less a week.

There is no change in this differential in the highest paid non-manual occupations by industry either. The highest paid non-manual occupation for men is in 'mineral oil refining': £15.91 per hour (£606 weekly). The highest paid non-manual occupation for women is in 'school education - nursery, primary and secondary' with an hourly average pay of £11.51 (weekly £345). This means the best paid women workers earn, on average, £261 per week less than the best paid men workers. In sixth place on both tables is the category; 'electronic data processing equipment'. The hourly rate for men is £13.43, that for women £8.80. Translated into weekly averages this is £513 for men, £338 for women. This category is particularly important given the importance emerging throughout this study on new technology.

Table 59 Hierarchical segregation: UK: gendered pay differentials by occupational major group general headings: 1992.

Source: Department of Employment, *New earnings survey 1992*. Compiled from Tables 8 and 9.

	Men		Women	
	average hourly £	average weekly £	average hourly £	average weekly £
Major group 1: Managers & administrators:	12.33	476	8.48	319
General managers, administrators in national & local Govt., large companies & organisations:	15.76	600	9.85	362
Major group 2: Professional occupations:	12.59	460	11.58	371
Teaching professionals:	14.71	448	12.58	373
Major group 3: Associate professional & technical occupations:	10.02	396	8.03	300
Major group 4: Clerical and secretarial occupations:	6.23	251	5.58	209

Analysis to Table 59.

The New Earnings Survey for 1992 also provides Tables of the average hourly rates or pay listed by occupations, irrespective of industry or sector. This compiled Table, concentrating only on non-manual occupations shows the gendered pay for the general 'group heading' and for two specific sub-listings which are known to be relatively well represented by women. The first thing to note is the gendered differential for all major 'group headings'. The second relates to the subsections. In 'major group 1' the subgroup chosen is 'general managers, administrators in national and local government, large companies and organisations'. The average rate of pay for men is £12.33 per hour (£476 weekly) and £8.48 (£319) for women. In 'major group 2' the subsection is 'teaching professionals' which reads: men £15.76 per hour, women £9.85 (weekly men £448, women £373).

Table 60 Hierarchical segregation: UK: gendered pay differentials in top five non-manual occupations by average hourly rates of pay.

Source: Department of Employment, *New earnings survey 1992.* Compiled from Tables 8 and 9.

Full-time non-manual workers: highest paid occupations by hourly rate.

	average hourly rate £	average weekly wage £
MEN		
Treasurers & company financial managers: **	19.79	741
Medical practitioners:	18.28	756
Underwriters, claim assessors, brokers, investment analysts: *	17.94	637
Solicitors:	17.48	624
Legal Professionals: *	17.28	618
WOMEN		
Medical practitioners:	14.87	615
Special education teaching professionals:	13.91	393
Secondary educational teaching professionals:	13.27	382
Health professionals:	13.11	534
Teaching professionals:	12.85	373

	Men		Women	
	average hourly £	average weekly £	average hourly £	average weekly £
Medical practioners:	18.28	756	14.87	615
Underwriters etc.:	17.94	637	9.63	358
Solicitors:	17.48	624	12.91	459
Legal professionals:	17.28	618	12.89	459

** no such occupational listing occurs in the Tables for women.

Analysis to Table 60.

This compiled Table shows that the highest paid occupation of all is that of 'treasurers and company financial managers'. The average hourly rate for men is £19.79 (£741 weekly). There is however no such occupational listing in the Table for women. This means if there are women in this occupation there are too few to statistically register as such. The highest paid occupation for women are 'medical practioners' which is ranked second in the table for men. The average hourly pay for male medical practioners is £18.28 (£756)[1] compared with that for women of £14.87 (£615). Significant differentials exist throughout these well paid professional occupations: for instance, solicitors: £17.48/£624 for men; £12.91/£459 for women.

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[1] The fact that the average weekly pay for male 'medical practioners' is higher than that of 'treasures', reflects the greater average number of hours worked, even though the hourly rate is less.

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